the weekly
Standard
JULY 1 / JULY 8, 2002
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ISRAEL VS. TERROR
DANIEL DORON • MICHAEL RUBIN
FRED BARNES

How to Win the Peace in Afghanistan

BY ELIE D. KRAKOWSKI

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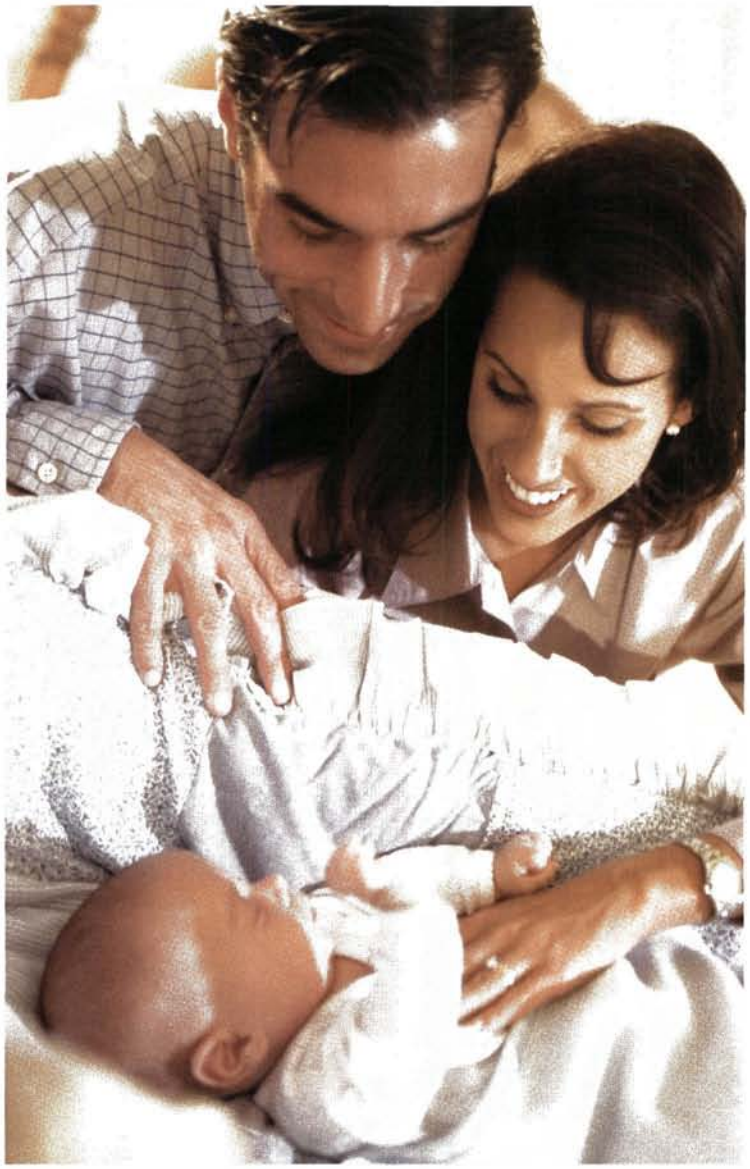

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THIS IS A COMBINED ISSUE. THE NEXT ISSUE OF THE WEEKLY STANDARD WILL APPEAR IN TWO WEEKS.

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Palestinian Terror, Courtesy of the E.U.

This message is brought to you by the European Union: "If the Jew hides behind the rock and the tree, the rock and the tree will say, 'Oh Muslim, oh servant of Allah, a Jew hides behind me, come and kill him.'"

Did the E.U. fund such wretched anti-Jewish drivel? Yes, that and much more, says a blistering investigative article in Germany's *Die Zeit*. The above quotation is from a sermon broadcast on PA-TV, the Palestinian Authority's official television station. For years now the E.U. has been funding PA-TV to establish an "open and pluralistic information system and thereby the formation of a democratic Palestinian society." The station's failure to do that hasn't stopped the euros from pouring in.

Also, textbooks in PA schools never mention the state of Israel but find space to glorify murderers like the infamous "Engineer." Yet this hasn't stopped the E.U. from subsidizing the education system's "buildings, salaries, and the schoolbook commission . . . to the tune of 330 million euros since the 1993 Oslo agreements." So hasn't the E.U., as the *Die Zeit* reporters allege, financed terrorism against Israel?

This is exactly what the Israeli government documents with evidence captured by its military. But E.U. commissioner Chris Patten replies that "the E.U. Commission has to date not been shown any hard evidence that the E.U. funds have been misused to finance terrorism or for any other purpose."

Die Zeit takes a look at the evidence and disagrees. Take the illegal arms shipment aboard the *Karine A*, for example. A cash-strapped Arafat paid $10 million for that cargo. At which time, *Die Zeit* reports, the E.U. was contributing "10 percent of Yasser Arafat's day-to-day budget and 50 percent of all aid payments." Commissioner Patten protests that strict oversight by the IMF, the middleman for such funding, requires that E.U. moneys not be misspent. But that's not what the IMF says. "We don't have auditing responsibilities," representatives assure *Die Zeit*.

What then, the authors ask, to make of Israeli reports connecting accounts holding E.U. funds to payments made to terrorists? The German federal intelligence service (BND) investigated and found "no direct proof" that Arafat used E.U. funds to finance terrorism. But the same report allowed rather damningly that "Arafat evidently doesn't distinguish between the structure of the Palestinian Authority and his Fatah Movement."

And the Germans should know. The BND, it turns out, "has been training and equipping Arafat's intelligence service since the 1993 Oslo Accords." The article continues: "Now the German government is vexed by the question of whether the BND protégé has converted . . . from an anti-terror force to a terror organization." At least Germans are troubled by the possibility that they have funded and trained a Palestinian terrorist bureaucracy. Meanwhile the rest of Europe can hardly raise its voice to object to the PA's new textbooks showing a Palestinian state stretching from Jordan to the Mediterranean. ♦

Democratic Rift

There's big trouble—racial and ethnic trouble—between the Congressional Black Caucus and House Democratic leaders. In early June, caucus members (all are Democrats) summoned Minority Leader Dick Gephardt, Whip Nancy Pelosi, and two others to a special meeting. The subject: helping Rep. Earl Hilliard of Alabama defeat a primary challenger in the June 25 runoff. The challenger, Artur Davis, was getting campaign contributions from donors angry with Hilliard's anti-Israel views. Hilliard had refused to support a resolution criticizing Palestinian suicide bombings. At the CBC session, Davis was cited for making an appeal to Jewish Democrats, even traveling to New York for two fund-raisers. If Democratic leaders don't rescue Hilliard, CBC members said they would block aid to Israel.

Democratic leaders quickly urged House members to donate $1,000 each to Hilliard's campaign. But the letter wasn't signed by two prominent Democratic honchos from New York—Charles Rangel, a CBC member and ranking Democrat on the Ways and Means Committee, and Nita Lowey, chair of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. The letter caused the anger to ease a bit, and a CBC member, Alcee Hastings of Florida, met with the American Israel Public Affairs Committee to avert a major black-Jewish rift in the Democratic party. But the issue may rise again in the case of the August runoff between Rep. Cynthia McKinney of Georgia and her challenger, Denise Majette, who has also received donations from Jewish Democrats. McKinney is famous not only for suggesting President Bush knew the September 11 terrorist attacks were coming and did nothing to stop them, but also for her criticism of then Mayor Rudy Giuliani for refusing to accept $10 million from an anti-Israel Saudi sheikh.

There's more. Ethan Wallison and Rachel Van Dongen of *Roll Call*, the Capitol Hill newspaper, wrote a detailed account of the flap. It was a great piece of reporting, but major newspapers and TV news outlets didn't pick up the story. Now imagine if it had been a story about threats by right-wing Christians to Republican leaders. That would have been front-page news for sure. ♦

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Preference for Pataki

When New York comptroller Carl McCall won the support of that state's Democratic convention last month, THE SCRAPBOOK saw it as a positive development. Anything that diminishes the likelihood that Andrew Cuomo will be New York's next governor is a positive development. What's more, the McCall victory provoked this knee-slapper from Cuomo. Formally rejected by his party, Andrew Cuomo—son and top staffer of former Gov. Mario Cuomo, former HUD secretary, husband of a Kennedy—is now trying to win the September primary by running as an "outsider." Next thing you know, they'll call him a "good government" Democrat. Actually, his campaign already does.

McCall is known simply as a public servant with integrity. His latest proposal, though, is curious to say the least. Speaking to troubled juveniles at Covenant House in New York City last week, McCall made this pitch concerning college financial aid. "Just because you are an ex-offender, you should not be denied education aid," he told them. "In fact, if you're an ex-offender, I think you ought to get preference."

But while youths across the state unsheathed their weapons and snatched up video cameras to record the crimes that would earn them a preference, McCall made this clarification. "I don't mean 'preferential treatment' in terms of putting them ahead of other people."

For some reason, fuzzy-headed reporters still didn't get it. So McCall gave it another try. "In terms of our attitude, we ought to understand that these are people who need special help and, therefore, we have to go out of our way to be sensitive to their concerns," he said. "We're talking about preference in terms of our attitude, in terms of how we deal with them. Period."

Right. THE SCRAPBOOK suspects George Pataki will get preference from New York voters this fall. Period. ♦

Arming the Critics

THE SCRAPBOOK notes with pride an attack on THE WEEKLY STANDARD's own David Skinner by one Ralph Luker on the History News Network website. Luker's article actually reinforces Skinner's point that a surprising number of scholars and scholarly institutions have shrunk from passing judgment on Michael Bellesiles, the historian at Emory University whose grossly dishonest but prize-winning book *Arming America* has been shielded from criticism by Columbia University, its Bancroft Committee, the Organization of American Historians, and others.

Almost two years after *Arming America* was published and easily a year and a half after major portions of its evidence have been debunked, Luker says it is still not time to reach a conclusion. "Academic learning" proceeds at a "leisurely pace," Luker writes. "Journalism demands instant judgment; scholarship insists that a process of discussion and debate be allowed to proceed."

Maybe it's "the leisurely pace of academic learning" that kept Luker from disputing even one criticism of Bellesiles's work. Then again he rather quickly answered the scores of critics brought out by his article. THE SCRAPBOOK has really enjoyed this feud, especially the part examining Luker's own credentials, most prominently his role as a co-editor of the first two volumes of the Martin Luther King Jr. papers. In that controversy, the editors discovered King's wide-ranging plagiarism only to keep it secret for two years before making the story public. Leisurely, indeed. ♦

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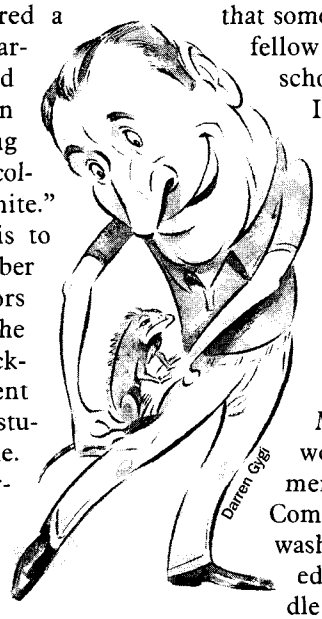
Casual

Pocket Change

Khakis, you may not have noticed, are in crisis. Sales of casual pants for men, among which khakis predominate, have fallen off. A recent article in the *Wall Street Journal* reports that they are down 11.5 percent, grossing $3.86 billion last year, while jeans have held steady, with sales of $4.94 billion. A khaki-pants man—as a traditionalist or square, I prefer the word "trousers"—I worry about this.

I should have known trouble was on the way when a student, last autumn, wrote in a composition that he had encountered a man sitting at a bar wearing white khakis. I circled the phrase, scribbling in the margin something like, "Khakis are khaki-colored; they cannot be white." When I mentioned this to the class as one of a number of small but dopey errors that had cropped up in the past week's essays, I quickly saw that the sentiment in the room was on the student's side and not mine. Everyone but I understood that khakis could be any color in the world, puce and chartreuse included.



Five pairs of khakis, all indubitably khaki-colored, currently hang in my closet. They all have pleats and turn-ups, as the English call cuffs. Although I have worn such trousers for fifty years, I have never called them khakis. (The word *khaki* is of Hindu derivation, meaning dusty or dust-colored, and khaki uniforms were first used by the British in India, though they were not part of regular British Army issue until the Boer War of 1899-1902.) At various times, I have called them "wash pants" (because they could be thrown in the wash, though I now send mine to the dry cleaner), chinos (another word for khaki twill), and suntans, which is what they were called when I wore them in the U.S. Army. They tend to be inexpensive and durable, and can be worn with anything from T-shirts to blazers and work with nearly any color in the world.

I wear khakis perhaps two-hundred-fifty days of the year, corduroys on cold winter days, and some variation of black or gray pants the rest of the time. I have done this for so long that some while ago I ran into a fellow I knew from high school, who remarked that I seemed to be wearing the same clothes now that I did back then. This wasn't meant as a put-down, just a statement of amazement. It also happens to be accurate.

I own no blue jeans. If I were Secretary of Male Haberdashery, I would outlaw jeans for men past the age of forty. Comfort-fit, wide-leg, stone-washed, parboiled, or filleted, jeans on men of middle age who aren't working construction or appearing in a cowboy movie, or who don't happen to be Robert Redford, are a grave sartorial mistake. They divest a man of seriousness. Would Justice Holmes have worn jeans? Would Thomas Mann? I prefer to believe that Colin Powell wouldn't, but I like to think that Yasser Arafat, relaxing at home, just might have an old pair around the house that would give him that Jordache look.

Khakis have changed very little in my lifetime, usually reverting to their old, solid, boring essence. They were once made with a small and utterly useless belt in the back. For a spell they were made slightly baggy; "bags" is the name by which the English used sometimes to call them. I don't believe that, during that Hieronymus Bosch period for men's clothes, the 1970s, khakis went bell-bottom; at least mine remained straight-legged. In 1999 a pants manufacturer turned out a Capri khaki pant for men, cut off at mid-calf; briefly popular, they died a well-deserved death.

Meanwhile, I worry that men's pants makers, wanting to recapture their share of the market for khakis, might let their innovative urges loose and spoil a good thing. In the *Wall Street Journal* article, mention is made of one manufacturer attempting a stain-resistant version of khakis, which sounds sensible enough. But another, the company called Dockers, last year produced something called "Mobile Pants," also known as "cargo pants for grownups." These trousers have seven hidden pockets, two of them with seam zippers, allowing men to stash pagers, cell phones, for all I know a smoked fish, and perhaps a pet iguana in their pants.

I'm reminded of the late Samuel Goldwyn, he of the beautifully mangled clichés ("If I want your opinion, I'll give it to you"), who was said never to carry anything in his trouser pockets lest they lose their perfect line. I myself carry in mine a quarter pound of keys, a wallet for credit cards and driver's license, a money clip, and a small silver penknife.

Running dog of capitalism though I am, I nonetheless worry that pants manufacturers, in their attempt to find a niche in the khaki market, will get fancier and fancier. I can easily envision khakis with each leg a different color, ragged bottoms, epaulets on the pockets. "Sam," an old Milton Berle song had it, "you made the pants too long." Today it needs to be changed to, "Sam, please, I beg you, leave the pants alone."

Joseph Epstein

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President Bush's Steel Policy is Working for America

The crisis confronting America:

For years the American steel industry has been under assault. The root of the problem — chronic global overcapacity created by foreign steel subsidies and producers choosing to exploit our open markets rather than rationalize and downsize their own industries.

Since 1997, the situation has been at crisis proportions. Over thirty U.S. companies have been forced into bankruptcy. Tens of thousands of steelworker jobs have been lost. The American steel industry — vital to our economy and national security — has been facing a threat to its very existence.

President Bush recognized the looming danger to this bedrock industry and he acted.

President Bush opened the door for recovery:

President Bush forged a plan to help the steel industry recover: short-term tariffs, the opening of foreign markets, and reductions in excess foreign capacity. By imposing Section 201 import relief — based on a unanimous recommendation by an independent bi-partisan commission — President Bush gave American steel the opportunity to get back on its feet.

And that is exactly what is happening. Over the past months, the domestic industry has begun to recover. While losses are still being experienced, prices are stabilizing and, for the first time in years, the longer-term prospects for the industry are improving.

Criticism of the President's program is not based on the facts:

Opponents have argued that modest price restorations in steel products are harming other industries. But the facts tell a very different story. The truth is that today the pricing for every major flat-rolled steel product covered by this relief remains well below the average prices of the last twenty years.

The work is not yet done:

Despite this evidence, the President is being pressured to grant exclusions to a whole range of products. The effect of these exclusions would be to gut the President's program.

We shouldn't go backward. No one should expect the damage caused by decades of foreign steel overcapacity and disruption of the U.S. market to be solved by three months of import relief. The steelworkers and producers of America will continue to work hard to strengthen our industry and restore jobs that have been lost. President Bush's decision was based on the solid principles of fair trade — it deserves full support.

Keep the Steel in America's Strength.

Paid for by STAND UP FOR STEEL — A coalition of America's leading steel companies and the hardworking men and women of the United Steelworkers of America.

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The Lenient Left

William G. Mayer's "A Real National Security Debate" (June 24) is right on. While it may be politically correct to body-search blue-haired grandmothers at our nation's airports, do we really want to trust the left when it comes to our national security? From excusing Communist tyranny to denying that differences exist between the sexes, the left has a legacy of championing positions that defy common sense.

But for a few home-grown nuts, the vast majority of recent assaults against American interests, at home and abroad, have been at the hands of Middle Eastern men. And yet civil libertarians and left-wing politicians want us to ignore this link while at the same time our government is asking us to be on alert for suspicious activity. The mixed message Americans are receiving plays into the hands of our enemies.

It was the left that criticized President Reagan and that now criticizes President Bush for referring to U.S. enemies as "evil." To them, "evil" is just a cultural misunderstanding that can be resolved with a little empathy and a group hug. And who can forget Jimmy Carter's deer-in-the-headlights reaction when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, or Bill Clinton's wag-the-dog response to terrorism?

Mayer does what Republicans should do more actively: He exposes the Democrats' past weakness on matters of national defense. Republicans should support beefing up the defense and intelligence agencies and profiling when necessary. Denying the obvious is a luxury a country at war cannot afford

Thomas M. Beattie
Mt. Vernon, VA

A Most Dangerous Game

John J. DiIulio Jr. argues that, given weak empirical evidence to the contrary, "returning unsupervised sex offenders to the community without so much as notifying their nearby neighbors is like playing Russian roulette with residents' safety" ("Three Cheers for One Strike," June 17). But if DiIulio is correct, the situation is much worse, since participants in Russian roulette only hold guns to their own heads. To strengthen the analogy, one might say that returning unsupervised sex offenders to communities without notification is like holding guns to the heads of *others*, most notably the vulnerable young, who do not enter such "games" voluntarily.

Steven M. Sanders
Franklin, MA

We Love Guns

While I agree with the basic thrust of Eli Lehrer's reasoning as to why America is safer than Europe from the standpoint of violent crime, he seems to

write around a couple of important points ("Crime Without Punishment," May 27). The scholar John Lott hasn't so much shown that greater gun ownership reduces crime, but rather that greater numbers of law-abiding citizens carrying concealed weapons does so. The basic ownership of firearms—at home or in one's place of business—certainly has a deterrent effect on robberies and burglaries, particularly "hot burglaries" conducted while the residents are present, otherwise called "home invasions." Europe (and particularly Britain) lacks this deterrent, as fewer citizens own firearms. It is, however, the increased carrying of concealed weapons by the law-abiding that has brought about a significant reduction of violent street crime in those states where concealed-carry laws have been liberalized. Data on concealed weapons ownership should be factored into any evaluation of crime reduction in America and any comparison with Europe.

Brooks Lyman
Groton, MA

Who's in Charge?

I enjoyed Michael Barone's "War Is Too Important to Be Left to the Generals" (June 10), as I do all of his writings.

I have one small nit-pick about the article, though. While Leighton Smith may have provided Richard Holbrooke "mulish opposition" in Bosnia, it was as a Navy admiral, not an Army general. A retired Navy captain myself, I was stationed at Cecil Field in Jacksonville in 1975 with then Commander "Snuffy" Smith when he was both a squadron commander and a formidable golf opponent.

Furthermore, I take exception to Barone's claim that Lyndon Johnson and his disastrous defense secretary Robert McNamara did not over-control the military. Every night, minute scrutiny of bombing targets for carrier airstrikes? Surely they went beyond "reasonably regarding this as a political matter," as Pacific commanders in chief Moorer and Sharp have carefully detailed in their respective books on the Vietnam conflict.

Bert Shrine Jr.
Pensacola, FL

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Two years ago, we made a promise to the United Nations: America would pay its overdue UN bills, a debt that was straining the UN's ability to do its job. For the last two years, we've kept our promise and that's helped the UN make a difference, for example, making it easier for girls around the world to gain access to an education.

But with a third payment still due, we haven't kept the promise of the 1999 Helms-Biden legislation. We should do so now. Congress should act quickly to complete legislation to settle our UN debt.

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the weekly Standard

Due Process for Terrorists?

During this July Fourth season, the two hundred twenty-seventh year of American democracy now dawning, just how secure—under the temporary stewardship of President Bush and Attorney General Ashcroft—are the basic constitutional rights that democracy was founded to assert? One or another version of this question has been at the center of public debate almost from the moment the federal government took its first, halting steps in response to the attacks of last September 11. And while we have never been especially impressed by the arguments of those who answer that the Bush administration's "war on terrorism" is a war on civil liberties as well, we note that elsewhere in the empire of political opinion such complaints are in ever wider circulation and at ever more feverish pitch. Even the *Washington Post*—an editorial page uncommonly sophisticated about principles of law; not at all the sort of outfit you'd expect to go off half-cocked—has now denounced the administration for arrogating to itself the "extraordinary power," at odds with "the Constitution's checks and balances," to "detain without trial American citizens *forever* with no meaningful judicial review," simply "on the president's say-so."

Where exactly is the archetypically sympathetic victim of the war on terrorism? No one has managed to produce him.

This seems odd, on several levels. To begin with, we can't see where the Bush administration is actually pretending to any such sweeping authority as the *Post* describes. At issue is the Justice Department's current position before the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in the case of Yaser Esam Hamdi, a Saudi national taken prisoner last fall with the rest of his surrendering Taliban/al Qaeda unit and now held in U.S. military custody—as a captured enemy combatant—at the naval brig in Norfolk, Virginia. The man happens to have been born in Louisiana. So his father, pursuing Hamdi's prerogatives as a putative American citizen, has filed a *habeas corpus* petition seeking his son's release from confinement. That petition hasn't been adjudicated; the government hasn't yet responded to it formally. But already a U.S. district court has granted Hamdi immediate access to private legal counsel by the local federal public defender's office. It is to these unsupervised contacts with the outside world by an apparent terrorist guerrilla—in the middle of a war with that guerrilla's murderous army—that the Justice Department objects. And, for the moment at least, that is the full extent of Justice's objection.

In other words: The Bush administration is not in fact announcing, as the *Post* suggests, that "any American" can be "locked up indefinitely, without a lawyer"—on the president's or anybody else's say-so. The Bush administration is announcing, instead, that any American can be locked up indefinitely without a lawyer *provided* that the executive branch of government can plausibly demonstrate that it believes the "American" in question has taken up arms against the United States during an ongoing international conflict. We would ask for a show of hands from those of our readers who fear they might somehow fall into John Ashcroft's sights this way, but any such exercise would obviously be frivolous. "Any American" has nothing to worry about. The Justice Department is really *not* doing anything "extraordinary" here. Indeed, so far as we can tell, it has the balance of international and constitutional law on its side.

To say nothing of plain common sense. Yaser Esam Hamdi, the *Post* concedes, "is not a sympathetic character." There is "little doubt" that a well-informed court would ultimately judge him an "enemy combatant" properly subject to detention even if he couldn't be proved guilty of a specific, ordinary crime. And "only the most doctrinaire civil libertarian would demand [Hamdi's] release at this stage."

Well, then, what are we arguing about? No, of course, the administration of American justice should not turn merely on the question whether the men whose fates it disposes are or aren't "sympathetic." Unsympathetic charac-

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ters should be treated fairly, too. But the nation has just spent nine whole months chewing its nails over the possibility that the war on terrorism is mutilating our system of civil liberties. And before we spend another nine months doing it, one would think we'd wish to have in hand some speck of more-than-speculative evidence—anything at all—that such anxiety is justified. If it is true that John Ashcroft has assaulted our rights by arresting innocent people willy-nilly and detaining them "indefinitely" without basic procedural protections, then surely *one* such person—among the thousand-plus the federal government has detained since September 11—would by now have been identified. Where, after all this caterwauling, *is* the archetypically sympathetic victim of the war on terrorism, the man who has rotted away in jail for no good reason or has otherwise been obviously and badly abused?

No one has found him. Oh, they have tried. And for one instructive example, we turn again to the *Washington Post*. "Suspect Held 8 Months Without Seeing Judge," ran the front-page headline June 12. What followed was the *Post*'s account of a certain Nabil al Marabh.

Al Marabh, sayeth the *Post*, is "a former Boston cab driver once identified by authorities as a major terrorism suspect"—the implication being that it may all have been a horrible mistake—who was "kept in solitary confinement for more than eight months" without ever "seeing a judge or being assigned a lawyer." Back when he was arrested, in the post-World Trade Center chaos of last September, "news reports said authorities might have linked him to two of the September 11 hijackers and a third man who had been sentenced to death in Jordan for a millennium bombing plot sponsored by al Qaeda." But U.S. officials have lately "declined to say whether al Marabh is still a suspect in the terrorism probe," and his case "has provoked outrage among civil liberties advocates and criminal defense attorneys." Here we are shown al Marabh tottering around a federal detention center "in leg irons and handcuffs attached to heavy waist chains" until he is belatedly charged with minor immigration violations which, should he plead guilty, will carry a sentence "shorter than the term he has already spent in jail."

Sounds awful.

But it's misleading to the point of absurdity.

Nabil al Marabh was born in Kuwait in 1966. In the late 1980s, he moved to Massachusetts and took a driver's job at the Boston Cab Company. Using that city as a base of operations, he almost immediately began establishing multiple "residences"—and acquiring multiple identification documents—there, in Florida, in Toronto, and eventually in Detroit. Al Marabh also, probably in 1994, spent some time in a terrorist training camp in Afghanistan; he later showed his sometime Boston girlfriend, Laura Phillips, photographs of the place. In Afghanistan al Marabh met Raed M. Hijazi, whom he brought back to Boston and found work for at the cab company. The two men lived together briefly, until Hijazi moved in with yet another Boston Cab employee, Bassam Kanj. Kanj would later be killed while leading an al Qaeda attack against a Lebanese army division in the mountains outside Tripoli. Hijazi is the millennium bomb plotter mentioned by the *Post*. Al Marabh is known to have made thousands of dollars in overseas wire transfers to Hijazi as that plot was being planned.

In January 2001, al Marabh fled Boston rather than comply with the terms of a six-month suspended sentence he'd received for stabbing his roommate. He moved first (illegally) to Canada, from which he'd been deported several years before. Six months later, he attempted to sneak back into the States in the back of a tractor-trailer, but was caught and returned to the Mounties, who arrested him for possession of false documents. During a brief confinement at Canada's Niagara Detention Center, al Marabh was visited by a man named Hassan Almrei, whom the Canadian government has subsequently arrested as an agent of al Qaeda.

Nabil al Marabh, in short, is an extremely dangerous fellow. He is also, praise Allah, a prisoner of the United States government.

Al Marabh was released from the Niagara jail last July on $10,000 bail paid by his uncle, Ahmed Shehab. Shehab owns a Toronto copy shop whose paper stock, laminates, and ink, according to Canadian investigators, exactly match those used in identification papers left behind by the September 11 hijackers. Shehab is also the principal of Toronto's Al-Qura Islamic elementary school. Al-Qura's previous principal, "Mahmoud Jaballah," shares a set of fingerprints, according to Interpol, with one Mahmoud Said, a leading figure in Islamic Jihad, the Egyptian terrorist organization founded by Ayman al Zawahiri, Osama bin Laden's longtime number two man.

Telephone records link al Marabh with Nageeb Abdul Jabar Mohamed al-Hadi, the mysterious Yemeni man who was arrested on September 11 after attempting to fly into Chicago with three different passports and a Lufthansa flight crew uniform in his bags. Telephone and banking records link al Marabh with September 11 hijackers Ahmed Alghamdi, Satam al-Suqami, Marwan al-Shehhi, and even Mohamed Atta himself.

Nabil al Marabh, in short, is an extremely dangerous fellow—a terrorist, in fact. He is also, praise Allah, a prisoner of the United States government, and it seems to us that American civil liberties are more, rather than less, secure as a consequence. Happy Fourth of July.

—David Tell, for the Editors

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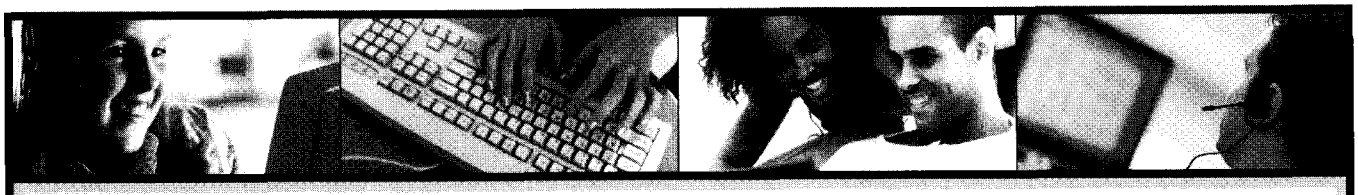

PARENTING IN CYBERSPACE

Now that school's out for summer, millions of children have more free time to be with friends, pursue hobbies, listen to music, play electronic games—and explore technology.

In fact, today's kids can do all of the above simultaneously. Using a PC, many young people exchange instant messages, surf their favorite Web sites and blast their Ashanti CD, even while they perform heroic feats in an online game.

Technology opens new vistas for today's children, who have grown up with PCs as an integral part of their everyday lives. And not just for summertime entertainment. At home and in millions of classrooms around the world, students use computers and the Internet to gather information, stimulate their thinking and make learning more fun.

But not all Web content is appropriate for young people, and kids' privacy—even their safety—can be endangered if they are not cautious when interacting with strangers online. Protecting children as they learn to use technology is a vital concern for everyone.

A new study by the National Research Council concludes that the best protection comes from parents and other caregivers. The NRC report, *Youth, Pornography and the Internet*, likens protecting kids online to keeping them safe around swimming pools. Fences, alarms and locks can help, but they are no substitute for adults teaching children to swim, and to swim safely. Education, at home as well as at school, can be the most effective way to protect kids using technology, too.

That new laws will not suffice was made clear again this month when a panel of federal judges unanimously struck down a law that required libraries to filter Internet content for material harmful to minors. Two previous federal laws intended to protect children from online pornography also ran afoul of free-speech protections in the First Amendment.

Software tools can provide a measure of protection. For example, Microsoft Internet Explorer offers a Content Advisor option that blocks access to sites based on a multilevel labeling system for language, nudity, sex and violence. Similarly, the Xbox video game system enables adults to "lock out" games they consider inappropriate.

Microsoft is working to develop more advanced content-filtering software for protecting children and for other purposes, such as blocking junk e-mail. We also work closely with other industry leaders on innovations in child protection technologies, but this progress could be threatened if the government were to mandate the use of a particular technology based solely on what's possible today.

Let's protect kids without cutting them off from technology.

Ultimately, there is no substitute for adults teaching children a few basic rules—for example, to tell an adult if they encounter inappropriate online content, and to never disclose personal information to strangers online. Many helpful resources are available on the Internet. For example, Microsoft has worked with the Boys & Girls Clubs of America to develop Stay Safe Online, an interactive instructional program featuring NBA star Shaquille O'Neal. It's available at www.staysafeonline.com.

Microsoft also cooperates with other industry leaders in an online resource center for parents and caregivers at www.getnetwise.org. There, they can find safety tips, links to Web sites for kids, a guide to Internet safety products and instructions for reporting problems to authorities.

Working together, we can protect children as they use technology to realize their full potential throughout their many summers to come.

One in a series of essays on technology and society. More information is available at microsoft.com/issues.

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Aid to Israel

Does the U.S. get its money's worth?

Israel and Egypt are the two largest recipients of U.S. aid. For its "participation" in the Gulf War, Egypt was forgiven its indebtedness of $9 billion. Israel pays its bills. It receives $2.8 billion every year. Of that amount, $2.0 billion is for military aid and $0.8 billion for economic aid. It's fair to ask whether this is a good deal for the American taxpayer.

What are the facts?

The only democratic country in the Middle East. Israel is the only genuinely democratic state in the Middle East. It is committed to freedom and equality, and the rule of law. It embodies the fundamental values that are in tune with those of America and that America has traditionally supported.

Israel's military and political importance in the Middle East and its strategic position stabilize the entire area, including the oil fields of the Persian Gulf. During the Cold War, it was America's indispensable rampart against the inroads and expansionist ambitions of the Soviet Union. It is now a western bulwark against the aggressive intents of Iran, Iraq, and other bellicose nations that threaten the interests of the United States. It is a most reliable partner in the promotion of Western strategic interests and in the stabilization of the Middle East. Over 20% of its budget goes for defense, compared to 7% in the U.S. and less than 1% in Japan. Israel has one of the best armies in the world. Its navy and air force are the major deterrent forces in the eastern Mediterranean.

Israel effectively secures NATO's southeastern flank, without having a single American soldier stationed in its territory. Still, the superb military installations, the air and sea lift capabilities, the equipment and food storage capacity, and the trained manpower to maintain and repair sophisticated U.S. equipment are instantly at hand in Israel. It is the only country in the area that makes itself available to the United States, in any contingency.

> "American aid to Israel is a two-way street. Aid to Israel is America's greatest defense bargain."

Only fraction of aid stays in Israel. There is no other country in the Middle East except Israel that can be considered to have a stable government or populace friendly to the United States. There is much danger that any military aid to Arab countries, and military equipment given or sold to them, will suffer the same fate as the untold billions of dollars and priceless military secrets that were lost to our enemies in the debacle of Iran. Is Saudi Arabia more stable? Egypt? Jordan? Kuwait? Judge for yourself!

Only a fraction of the aid given stays in Israel. By far the largest share remains with American defense contractors. Peter McPherson, former administrator of the Agency for International Development, estimated that every billion dollars of aid to Israel creates 60,000 to 70,000 jobs in the United States.

Compared to the $2.0 billion yearly military aid to Israel, the U.S. contributes more than $130 billion(!) every year to the defense of Europe and more than $30 billion to the defense of Japan, Korea, and the Far East. Over 300,000 U.S. troops are stationed with NATO and over 30,000 U.S. troops in the Far East. In contrast, not one single U.S. soldier needs to be stationed and put at risk in Israel. U.S. military analysts estimate that the U.S. would have to spend the equivalent of $150 billion a year in the Middle East to maintain a force equivalent to Israel's.

There are many other benefits that the U.S. military derives from Israel. Israel is the only country that has gained battlefield experience with U.S. weapons. This experience is immediately conveyed to the U.S. Enormous quantities of captured Soviet weapons and defense systems were turned over to the U.S. military for analysis. Israel, in the light of its experience, continually modifies U.S. weapons systems. For instance, Israeli scientists have made over 200 improvements in the F-15 alone and similar improvements, mostly in avionics, in later-generation planes. It would be more in line with reality if military aid to Israel were classified as part of the defense budget, rather than as "aid". Israel is truly America's unsinkable aircraft carrier in the Middle East. Former President Reagan put it well: "The fall of Iran has increased Israel's value as perhaps the only remaining strategic asset in the region on which the United States can fully rely." American aid to Israel is a two-way street. Aid to Israel is America's greatest defense bargain.

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On a Big Issue, Bush Goes Wobbly

Why is the president endorsing a provisional Palestinian state? BY FRED BARNES

IT'S THE BIG ISSUES that matter in President Bush's brand of conservatism. So he's strong and principled on taxes, cloning, the Kyoto treaty, the war on terrorism, Iraq, missile defense, and federal judges. It's a different story with the smaller issues. Bush strays on them—education, trade, farm subsidies, ethnic profiling, campaign finance reform—for shamelessly pragmatic purposes. More often than not, his aim is to prove his conservatism really is compassionate or to broaden his political base. This arrangement satisfies most conservatives and a lot of moderates and independents. The problem comes when the president retreats on a big issue, as he's about to do by proposing a "provisional" Palestinian state.

Though Bush's embrace of an interim state is highly conditional, his plan will be harmful to him nonetheless—morally, strategically, and politically. The moral angle is quite simple: He's rewarding Palestinian terrorism. Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat has failed to deliver a promised speech denouncing suicide bombings, and he hasn't arrested any Palestinian terrorists either. Yet his regime would suddenly be moved a large step closer to full statehood. And Bush would also weaken his brave and lonely support of Israel as it suffers relentless terrorist attacks. That has moral undertones as well.

The strategic problem involves the president's alliance with Saudi Arabia, home of 15 of the 19 September 11th hijackers. The Saudis have never played a helpful role in promoting a peace settlement between Israelis and Palestinians, and they're the prime exporter of radical, anti-American Islam around the world. In 2000, when Arafat was offered generous terms for a Palestinian state encompassing nearly all of the West Bank and all of Gaza, the Saudis did nothing to pressure him to accept, and Arafat rejected the deal. (Last week, with the deal off the table, Arafat said he'd accept it.) Administration officials say the Saudis are being unbelievably helpful now.

Though Bush's embrace of an interim Palestinian state is highly conditional, it will harm him nonetheless—morally, strategically, and politically.

"They're the new kid on the block and they're sending all the right signals," a Bush aide says. This time, the aide says, they're pressuring Arafat to do the right thing, such as crack down on terrorists. But if the Saudis truly want to promote peace in the Middle East, they'll allow American planes to use their bases when and if military action is taken against Iraq. Don't bet on it.

The political problem for Bush is his own administration and party are deeply divided. Many believe peace overtures to the Palestinians are wrong morally and politically. After Bush first declared himself in favor of Palestinian statehood in a speech to the United Nations last November, a doubtful White House official said privately: "We should be in the business of destroying terrorist states, not creating them." And a terrorist state is exactly what some officials fear Bush will be hastening with his new proposal. Their expectation is the Palestinians won't meet the conditions, but they'll get provisional statehood anyway, if only because Arab states, the European Union, the United Nations, Russia, and nearly every other country in the world will insist on it. The result: a provisional terrorist state. Bush doesn't seem worried about this possibility. An aide says the president is convinced the Palestinian people need "a reason for hope." Bush told a Republican fund-raiser last week, "I love peace."

Bush isn't guilty of flip-flopping on a Palestinian state. In truth, he's been on a slippery slope since his United Nations address last fall. Then, he made only a fleeting reference to "two states, Israel and Palestine." And he said "incitement, violence, and terror" must stop. They didn't stop, particularly terrorism against Israelis. But in April, prodded by the Saudis, Bush elaborated on the statehood theme. "The United States is on record supporting the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people for a Palestinian state," he said. Bush also had harsh words for Arafat, saying he has declined to confront or control terrorists. More than two months have passed and Arafat still hasn't clamped down on Palestinian terrorists. Sure, he's issued statements condemning terrorism, but those fault terrorism for causing bad PR for Palestinians. Despite Arafat's failures, Bush has decided to make still another concession—unless he unexpectedly cancels his speech announcing the statehood plan.

Administration officials say interim statehood isn't really a concession to Arafat. For one thing, tough conditions will be required before statehood occurs, one of which is a total halt in terrorism against Israel. Moreover, the plan would promote new institutions of government among the Palestinians, institutions that would circumvent Arafat and marginalize him. In

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effect, the run-up to provisional statehood (so named because the borders would be provisional) would mark either the decline and fall of Arafat or his elevation to figurehead status, Bush aides say. Condoleezza Rice, Bush's national security adviser, told the *San Jose Mercury News* that Arafat's Palestinian Authority will "not be the basis for a Palestinian state moving forward." Oh, yeah? Arafat has warded off bigger threats than a new institutional scheme. Will the Saudis insist on pushing Arafat to the periphery, siding with Bush against Arafat and his thugocracy? If so, the Saudis really have changed.

Since September 11, political professionals have been amazed at Bush's persistently high poll numbers. One reason they haven't tumbled is Bush's moral approach to international affairs. He's spoken with moral clarity, producing a Bush doctrine that says both terrorists and those who harbor them are the enemies of the civilized world. In the Pakistan-India standoff, Bush wasn't outspoken, but he exerted most of his pressure on the perpetrator of terrorism, Pakistan, and not on India, the victim. In the Middle East, however, he's lost his moral bearings. Arafat and other Palestinian leaders are every bit as implicated in terrorism as the Pakistanis. Yet they're to be rewarded. A big issue is involved here, but on this one, Bush has been neither strong nor principled. ♦

The Lessons of Lebanon

Iran and Syria sponsor an ominous arms build-up on Israel's northern border. BY MICHAEL RUBIN

The Israel-Lebanon border

YELLOW HEZBOLLAH FLAGS fly over the rubble of the Tourmus agricultural station on the Israel-Lebanon border. Following Israel's May 2000 withdrawal from southern Lebanon, Hezbollah guerrillas dynamited the cattle pens and vaccination clinics where Lebanese farmers once brought their livestock for immunization. "It's a shame. Disease doesn't know the border, and everyone will suffer because of this," one local farmer said. Hezbollah does not care. Emboldened by the Israeli withdrawal and United Nations moral equivalency, Hezbollah is determined to further the conflict. Sadly, Israel's muddled anti-terrorism policy, like that of the Bush administration, encourages such terror.

Michael Rubin is a visiting scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

More than two years after Israel's unilateral withdrawal, peace is increasingly distant. Syria and Iran saw Israel's retreat not as a gesture of peace, but as a sign of weakness. Rather than enjoy peace, Israeli border towns prepare for renewed terror. Residents of Manara, for example, live behind high fences, barbed wire, and watchtowers. The UNIFIL post ten meters away across the border in Lebanon provides little comfort, especially after the October 2000 incident in which UNIFIL troops concealed evidence of a Hezbollah kidnapping across the U.N.-certified border.

Hezbollah does not operate in isolation. "Syria is the brains and Iran is the heart," one counterterrorism expert explained. Twice a week, Iran Air cargo planes touch down at the Damascus airport, supplying increasingly sophisticated arms to terrorist camps across the border in Syrian-occupied Lebanon. In recent weeks, Hezbollah has deployed thousands of missiles capable of striking targets as deep inside Israel as Haifa. Intelligence reports indicate that Iranian Revolutionary Guard brigadier general Ali Reza Tamizr has begun training Hezbollah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Hamas, and Arafat's Fatah on missiles capable of downing civilian aircraft.

The lessons of Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon are clear. Adversaries who do not desire peace will further conflict. The day after the completion of Israel's withdrawal, Hezbollah secretary general Hasan Nasrallah declared, "The road to Palestine and freedom is the road of the resistance and intifada! It should be neither the intifada that is framed by Oslo, nor that which is negotiated by the compromising negotiator in Stockholm. All you need is to follow the way of the martyred people of the past who shook and frightened the entity of this raping Zionist community."

Palestinian chairman Yasser Arafat concurred. Two months after Israel's pullback, Arafat turned down Israel's offer of a Palestinian state with its capital in Jerusalem, on 97 percent of the West Bank and Gaza and 3 percent of Israel proper. Instead, Arafat launched a war designed to strike not only in disputed territories, but also in Israel.

The second Palestinian intifada is not a grass-roots uprising, but rather a terror campaign perpetrated largely by Arafat's overlapping Fatah, Tanzim, Al Aksa Martyrs Brigade, and Force 17, with overt Syrian, Iranian, Saudi, and Iraqi assistance. With the State Department floating trial balloons of new peace plans predicated upon further Israeli concessions, and self-righteous European Union and U.N. officials demanding a cessation of Israeli self-defense, state sponsors of terrorism smell blood and sense victory.

On June 5, four days after Syria assumed the Security Council presidency, terrorists detonated a car bomb next to a public bus near Megiddo, killing 17. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility from its headquarters in

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Damascus. Three days later, the Iranian government rewarded the group by upping its budget 70 percent. When a suicide bomber killed 15 at a pool hall in a Tel Aviv suburb, Syria's state-controlled radio declared, "The wonderful and special suicide attacks [are] a practical declaration before the whole world of the way to liberate Arab Palestinian land." Clearly, Damascus is flaunting its support for terrorism.

The growth of anti-Israel terror is directly proportional to the decline of Israeli deterrence. When the Damascus-based PFLP assassinated Israel's tourism minister last October, Israel failed to retaliate against the group's headquarters. Sensing Israel's reluctance to hold him accountable for his proxy groups, Syrian president Bashar al-Assad grows increasingly bold.

On April 26, 2002, Israeli security forces intercepted an explosives-laden car bomb that the PFLP planned to detonate under the Azrieli Towers, Tel Aviv's equivalent of the World Trade Center. Ten thousand deaths would have resulted from the buildings' collapse. Less than a month later, terrorists attempted to blow up the Pi Glilot gas storage facility. Had they been successful, the entire population of Ramat Aviv Gimel—more than 20,000—would have perished in the fireball.

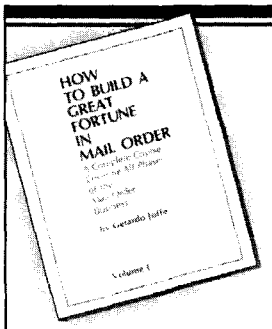
The tragedy of the situation is that Israel could end Syria's terror sponsorship within one month. After all, four years ago, Turkey forced Syria to do the same. Damascus once played host to Kurdistan Workers party (PKK) leader Abduallah Ocalan, a man responsible for tens of thousands of deaths in Turkey. In September 1998, Ankara decided it had had enough. President Suleyman Demiral declared, "We are losing our patience and we retain the right to retaliate against Syria." Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz warned that the Turkish army was "awaiting orders" to attack. Turkey staged military exercises along the Syrian border. The result? Syria caved, expelled Ocalan, and closed down PKK offices. For Damascus, terrorism is a worthwhile policy tool only so long as the regime need not pay a military price.

As scholars such as Daniel Pipes, Efraim Inbar, and Ely Karmon have shown, Turkey's success provides lessons to both Washington and Jerusalem. First, terrorism can be stopped, but those fighting terror must be willing to go to war to eradicate it. Second, terrorism is black and white. Unfortunately, it's a lesson many in the Bush administration do not understand.

Prior to joining the State Department's policy planning staff, Brookings scholar Meghan O'Sullivan argued that the United States should seek a "more nuanced" approach to terrorism, whereby "lesser penalties would apply to lesser levels of state sponsorship." Such nuance is dead wrong, since it implies some terror to be permissible.

Washington (and Jerusalem) should not exculpate state sponsors for the actions of their proxy groups. Just as the key to constraining al Qaeda was toppling the Taliban, the key to constraining groups such as Hezbollah, the PFLP, and the Al Aksa Martyrs Brigade is a willingness to make their hosts pay the ultimate price.

Terror sponsorship cannot be subject to negotiation. When I taught in Iraq last year, my Baghdad University-trained translators consistently failed to comprehend three words: tolerance, compromise, and debate. Such concepts simply do not exist in Saddam Hussein's Iraq, nor do they in Syria and Iran. When urging dialogue and restraint, Secretary of State Colin Powell must understand that willingness to meet any terrorist demand, no matter how small, only rewards violence and indicates U.S. weakness. Terrorism is not the result of a cycle of violence. Rather, it is a result of too little retaliation. ♦



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Congress and Cloning

No ban is better than a phony ban.

BY WESLEY J. SMITH

WHAT'S LESS BAD: enacting a ban on so-called "reproductive" human cloning that explicitly authorizes cloning for research purposes, or passing no law at all prohibiting cloning in 2002? That is the seeming conundrum facing cloning opponents, since neither side in the great cloning debate apparently can muster the 60 votes needed to pass either a complete or partial cloning ban in the U.S. Senate.

Actually, there is no conundrum. Banning only reproductive cloning would accomplish absolutely nothing (in fact, as I will detail below, a ban on reproductive cloning only would lead to reproductive cloning). Indeed, such a phony law would be worse in the long run than no anti-cloning law at all. The "compromise" of banning reproductive cloning while authorizing research cloning is really no compromise, since pro-cloners would give up almost nothing and would greatly gain.

The first reason is political. Poll after poll shows that the American people want to ban human cloning. Knowing this, pro-cloners have resorted to a game of "hide the ball," believing that their pseudo-ban on reproductive cloning would suffice to assuage public unease. Passing such a law would also allow politicos to brag to constituents in an election year that they had done "something" about cloning (an argument that would be abetted by the generally pro-cloning media). It would also take much of the steam out of the anti-cloning drive, which is a primary purpose behind the pseudo-ban.

The second reason pro-cloners would gain from a ban on reproductive cloning alone is that such a law would not actually prohibit anything that can be currently accomplished. Researchers are unable at this time to develop a human clone embryo that can be implanted in a woman's womb. Indeed, learning how to do that would be one of the goals of research cloning.

For a human embryo to be successfully implanted—whether the embryo is created via fertilization or cloning—it must develop for at least five days until it reaches the blastocyst stage, when the embryo has an outer lining that develops into the placenta. Not coincidentally, this is also the stage when embryonic stem cells are harvested. These cells are the targets of "therapeutic cloning" researchers, who promise to someday make embryonic clones of millions of patients, harvest the clone's stem cells, and use the resulting cell lines in "regenerative medicine" to treat various maladies without the body rejecting the cells, since they would be almost identical genetically to the patient's own cells.

(In reality, adult stem cells offer better and quicker hope for developing regenerative medicine. For example, last week the science journal *Nature* reported that adult stem cells extracted from the bone marrow of mice appear to be as versatile as embryonic stem cells but without the problems of tumor formation and tissue rejection. Meanwhile, adult stem cells are *already* being used to treat human ailments such as Parkinson's disease and multiple sclerosis—the very diseases for which cloning is held out as a panacea 10 years from now.)

Learning how to reliably create human clone blastocysts will require much time and money, assuming it can be done at all. Indeed, the whole reason to explicitly legalize research cloning is to free up research grants and private investment for this very purpose. Here's the catch: Should the research cloning enterprise succeed in creating human clone blastocysts, the legal ban on reproductive cloning now being touted by pro-cloners would immediately be attacked. It doesn't take a psychic to predict the scenarios:

• Infertile couples will file lawsuits claiming that the reproductive cloning ban violates their "fundamental right" to procreate. Considering the importance recent court decisions have placed on the right to reproduce, it is quite conceivable that once reproductive cloning could be done safely, the ban would be declared unconstitutional.

• A major political campaign will be mounted, perhaps concurrently with such lawsuits. Teary-eyed couples will appear on *Oprah* urging an end to the ban on reproductive cloning so that they can have children. Since human cloning is now safe, they and their supporters in the biotech industry will argue, cloning should be viewed as merely another reproductive technology akin to in vitro fertilization.

• A mad scientist, perhaps from offshore, will implant an embryo into a woman desiring to go down in history as the first birth mother of a human clone. Since no one will urge that she be forced to have an abortion, the birth of the child will be unstoppable. The event will produce spectacular headlines and no legal consequences. (Would society actually allow the parents of a cute baby to be jailed, much less the scientist who had helped the infant come into being?) The birth of the next such

Wesley J. Smith is a senior fellow at the Discovery Institute and the author of Culture of Death: The Assault on Medical Ethics in America.

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child will produce page three stories. The birth of the twentieth or thirtieth such child will be unremarkable and the ban will soon become functionally irrelevant, regardless of the actual state of the law.

For those who consider such scenarios unlikely, remember this: When the National Academy of Sciences urged the government to pass a ban on human reproductive cloning last year, it did so not because human cloning was deemed morally objectionable but because it currently wasn't deemed "safe." Such amoral reasoning hardly inspires confidence in the durability of a ban limited to reproductive cloning, or in the long-term commitment to maintaining it of those now urging that approach.

For those who believe that human cloning for any purpose is intrinsically immoral and dehumanizing, a pseudo-ban is worse than no ban at all. Accordingly, if our choice today is either acceptance of a ban on human reproductive cloning only or stalemate, we should choose stalemate. Far better to keep struggling for a moral public policy with integrity than surrender to political expediency and harmful half-measures.

Even without a ban today, we accomplish a lot by continuing to struggle toward outlawing the cloning of human life at both federal and state levels. (Iowa recently outlawed all human cloning within its borders.) As long as venture capitalists know that investing in immoral cloning research presents a significant financial risk, the Brave New World enterprise will continue to face a shortage of resources.

In the meantime, adult stem cell experiments likely will continue to demonstrate awesome potential, so that one day even the *New York Times* will be unable to ignore the news. Once the country recognizes that we can have regenerative medicine and morality too, the dogged resistance to a legal ban on all human cloning will collapse, and a proper legal ban will be enacted. ♦

Boycott Vermont!

. . . until Patrick Leahy allows votes on Bush's judges. BY HUGH HEWITT

BOYCOTTS don't always work, but they usually annoy. Maybe it's time to annoy Vermont and its two senators, Patrick Leahy and James Jeffords, to get across how little the obstruction of judicial confirmations is appreciated.

Senator Leahy holds the chairmanship of the Senate's Judiciary Committee, a position he has abused from the moment he assumed it. Eight of President Bush's original eleven nominees to the federal bench have not been given so much as a hearing by Leahy, despite the fact that individually and as a group they represent the very best in American legal learning, practice, and thought. As former solicitor general Charles Fried said on my radio show in June, Leahy is denying these nominees their hearing not because they are unqualified, but because they are overwhelmingly qualified and would win the approval of the committee and the Senate.

This is only a one-man blockade, but it's working. Leahy raised the stakes recently by directing his staff to demand internal Department of Justice memos from the days when one nominee, Miguel Estrada, toiled as a deputy solicitor general. The administration will never release such material, so Leahy will have a new excuse for delay in his war against the nominees.

The stonewalling of the original eight Bush nominees has become a huge issue for the GOP base, and perhaps even beyond as the profile of the issue rises. Vermont's Jim Jeffords did Leahy no favor when, on the anniversary of his defection from the GOP, he pointed to Leahy in the crowd of well-wishers and remarked that he "slept better knowing that Pat Leahy is picking the judges." That is, of course, what Leahy is doing, but he and his allies prefer that it not be put so bluntly. This power in one senator's hands is obviously unconstitutional.

Genuine relief will arrive only if the GOP recaptures control of the Senate in the fall. In the meantime, though, perhaps the good people of Vermont should learn that their senators' behavior is not without its costs.

Leahy would not be the chairman with the power to obstruct all the nominees if Jeffords had not switched parties. Both are from Vermont. Rarely is accountability so clear in a matter of legislative obstructionism.

Hugh Hewitt is a nationally syndicated talk show host and a columnist for WorldNetDaily.

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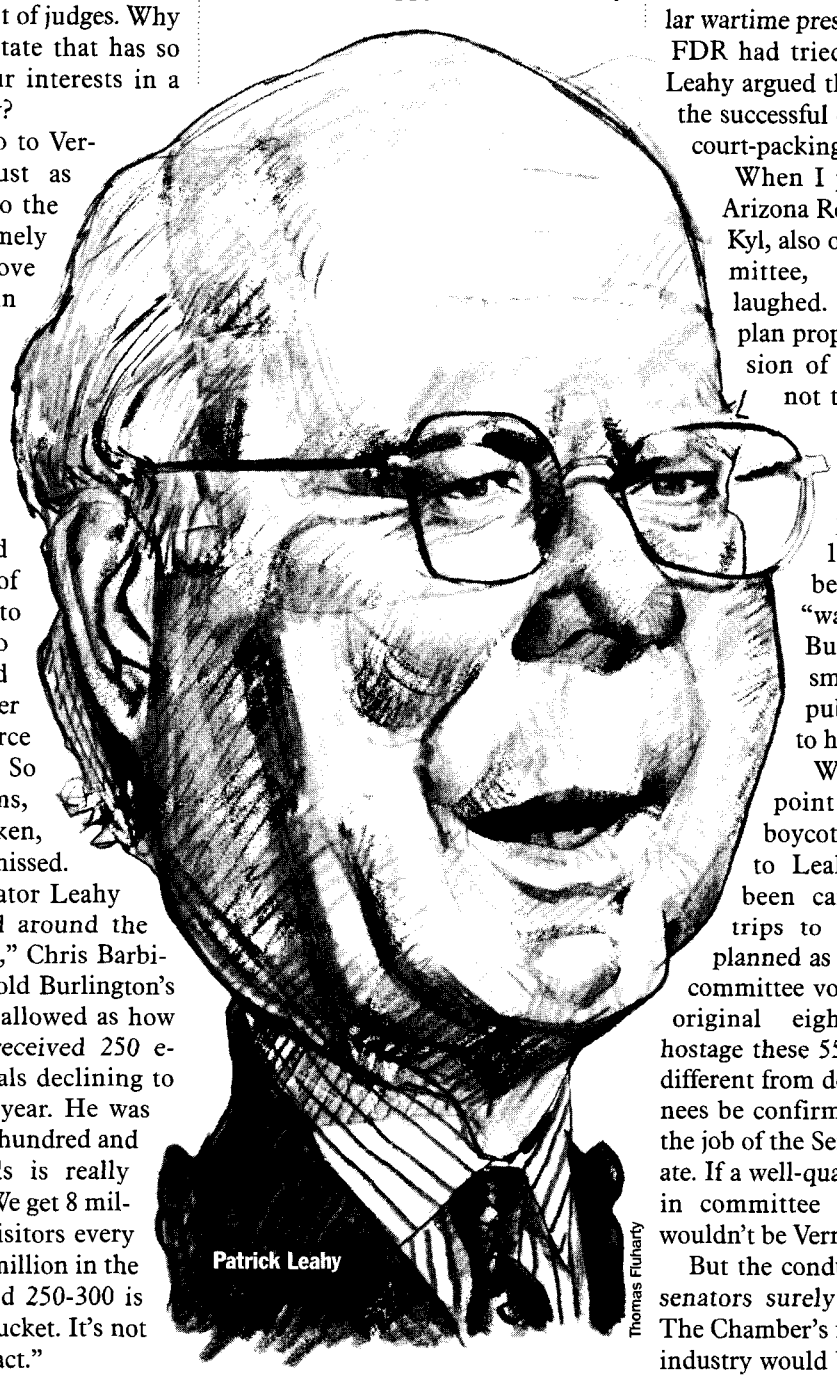
Vermont depends on out-of-staters' coming to its small preserve, in the summer months to hike and in the winter months to ski. But Vermont's senators are preventing courts that affect all 50 states from having their full complement of judges. Why spend money in a state that has so directly injured your interests in a functioning judiciary?

I think I'll say no to Vermont this year. Just as Leahy has said no to the nominees whose timely service might improve the circumstances in my state of California.

When I proposed this payback on the air and online last month, a few hundred people decided to act on the idea and dispatched notice of their decision to bypass Vermont to various hoteliers and the Vermont Chamber of Commerce (*www.vtchamber.com*). So many wrote, it seems, that notice was taken, though abruptly dismissed. "It's targeted at Senator Leahy and it's all wrapped around the judicial nominations," Chris Barbieri of the Chamber told Burlington's Channel 3. Barbieri allowed as how the Chamber had received 250 e-mails from individuals declining to go to Vermont this year. He was not impressed. "Two hundred and fifty boycott e-mails is really nothing significant. We get 8 million to 8.5 million visitors every year. We get about 5 million in the summer and fall, and 250-300 is really a drop in the bucket. It's not going to have an impact."

Senator Leahy agreed: "As everybody has said, this happens every year on one issue or another. And it ends up we just get publicity for Vermont and more people end up coming here."

The cumulative economic effect of saying no to Vermont is probably quite low. But some of the public is letting individual hotels, B&Bs, and ski resorts know why they won't be checking in this summer and fall. Those are unhappy hostelries. They are annoyed. Perhaps they will study the specifics of Leahy's atrocious actions. Perhaps they will get a clue as to why, as the *New Republic*'s Michael Crowley has written at length, Leahy is unpopular within the Senate, even with some of his Democratic colleagues. He's a bully, and an arrogant one at that.



Patrick Leahy

Thomas Fluharty

Under fire on the anniversary of the first nominations, Leahy took to the floor of the Senate to defend his tactics. He referred to another popular wartime president, FDR, and how FDR had tried to pack the courts. Leahy argued that his effort was like the successful effort to block FDR's court-packing plan.

When I played the audio for Arizona Republican senator Jon Kyl, also on the Judiciary Committee, he laughed and laughed. FDR's court-packing plan proposed a radical expansion of the Supreme Court, not the filling of existing vacancies by highly qualified nominees. And FDR sent the plan to Congress in 1937, four full years before he became a "wartime" president. But that's Leahy: Any smoke will do when the public's attention turns to his antics.

Which is really the point behind a Vermont boycott—turning attention to Leahy's tactics. I have been careful to argue that trips to Vermont should be planned as soon as hearings and committee votes take place on the original eight nominees held hostage these 55 weeks. This is very different from demanding that nominees be confirmed. That decision is the job of the Senate—the entire Senate. If a well-qualified nominee failed in committee or on the floor, it wouldn't be Vermont's fault.

But the conduct of Vermont's two senators surely is Vermont's fault. The Chamber's flack and the tourism industry would be well advised to let Senator Leahy know their opinion on the matter. They may support him. But they may also be annoyed. After all, what's the harm in holding hearings on the president's nominees and allowing the senators to vote them up or down? ♦

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Jesse Leaves the Ring

Minnesota's tough-guy governor bows out.

BY JASON LEWIS

"As governor, I will veto any new taxes and any increase in existing taxes. And I keep my word."
—Candidate Jesse Ventura, 1998

WHEN IT CAME DOWN to keeping his word or running for a second term, Minnesota's flamboyant governor apparently decided on trying to restore his credibility by not seeking reelection. But the damage had already been done.

Ever since his remarkable election in 1998 on the Independence party ticket, former pro-wrestler and radio talk-show personality Jesse Ventura has taken full advantage of his resurrected celebrity status. A *Playboy* interview, appearances on late night television, two book deals, action figures, a million-dollar color commentary contract for the now defunct XFL—politics turned out to be a profitable venture for one James Janos of north Minneapolis. He ran for office on a lark, and lightning struck.

But as always throughout his career, the problem was staying power, and whatever he was in, "the Body" was in it for himself.

As a self-described "centrist" pol, Ventura sometimes had good instincts, combining a get-tough approach from his Navy SEAL background with just the right conservative-populist touch. But when his populism drifted to the right, Minnesota's class warriors savaged Ventura's moonlighting on the job; when it drifted portside, he started to sound like Molly Ivins on steroids. In the end, Ventura's legacy is failed centrism—the false notion that you can actually play the middle on contentious issues. This year, it finally caught up with him.

In an astonishing about-face in January, the governor proposed body-slamming Minnesota taxpayers to the tune of almost $2 billion in the next biennial budget. But Ventura found himself alone (save for the usual media voices) in his shrill call to increase the gas and cigarette taxes, boost the corporate minimum tax, and extend the sales tax, in addition to paring some spending. Minnesota's Republican House and DFL (Democrat-Farmer-Labor) Senate leaders took Ventura by surprise when they proposed to eradicate Minnesota's budget deficit of $2.4 billion—*without* raising taxes.

Citing the lack of new revenue, Ventura vetoed the budget bills, but he was later overridden.

Gubernatorial politics was certainly in play here. Roger Moe, the DFL Senate majority leader, wasn't keen on starting his incipient campaign for governor on a platform of tax increases. Tim Pawlenty, his counterpart in the House, now the moderate GOP nominee for governor, was cajoled into signing a "no new taxes" pledge by a challenge from the right. The result was a legislative coup combining modest spending cuts with nearly $2 billion in reserves hoarded in the go-go '90s to balance the budget. And to solve future revenue problems without tax increases, the lawmakers decided to remove the automatic inflation-adjusted spending increases in the next biennial budget, saving $1.1 billion.

Most serious budget-crunchers see taking Minnesota's budget off autopilot as crucial. In the four years since Ventura was elected, the annual gen-

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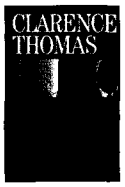

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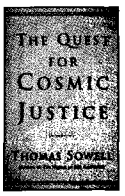

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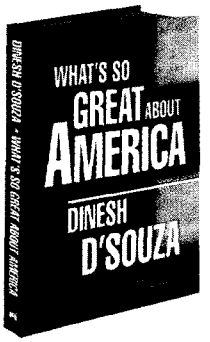

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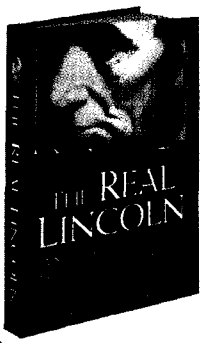

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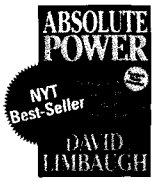

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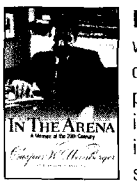

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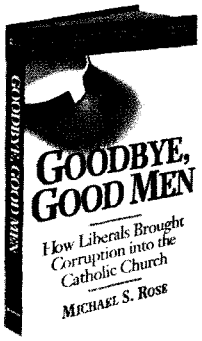

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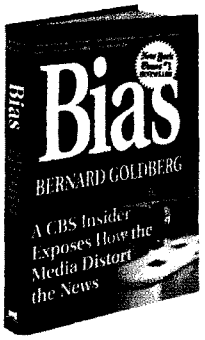

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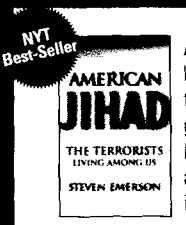

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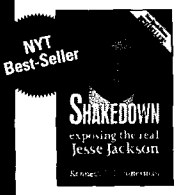

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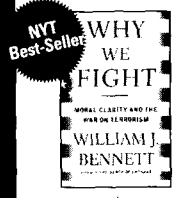

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eral fund has ballooned 30 percent, to almost $14 billion. And notwithstanding several tax rebates—"Jesse checks," to Ventura—state revenue is growing faster than personal income, according to the Tax Foundation.

The irony for Minnesotans was that Ventura had joined the knee-jerk big-spending establishment he once ran against. He had even made a point of protecting Minnesota's bloated budget reserves, including a half-billion dollar anti-smoking endowment used to demonize big tobacco in the eyes of children.

Why did Ventura choose to alienate his natural constituency of hard-working taxpayers? True, his budget would have cut a bit more from the general fund than the legislators', and just last year he took on the education lobby, saying at one point, "No amount of money would ever be enough." But his conservative bark was always worse than his bite. The battle with the teachers' union was no sooner over than Ventura started talking about restoring any so-called education cuts in the 2004-2005 biennium (his first budget raised the state's K-12 fund by a whopping $1 billion), and he remains a steadfast opponent of school choice.

Even the landmark property tax reform he championed last year turned out to be a windfall for public schools. Ventura's "Big Plan" entailed modest relief for commercial and industrial properties and even some higher-valued homes. But once the ink dried on the state's assuming responsibility for nearly 100 percent of education funding, a record number of school districts placed tax increase proposals on their local ballots. Cities and counties have followed suit, erasing much of the relief taxpayers counted on.

Here, as on a wide range of issues, Ventura has always been more a liberal than a libertarian, something the national media consistently missed. An enthusiastic advocate of gay rights and drug legalization, Ventura nevertheless championed then Attorney General Hubert Humphrey III's fraudulent lawsuit against big tobacco. In fact, on social issues, it was downright impossible to get to the left of the abortion-on-demand, pro-assisted-suicide governor.

Indeed, conservatives had every reason to be suspicious of Ventura. As *Governing* magazine noted, "He talked tough about personal responsibility, yet surprised social service advocates with generous funding. He publicly excoriated college students seeking more state aid, but ended up delivering it to them anyway. In his 1998 campaign, he dismissed the state health insurance program as 'socialized medicine.' A year later, he safeguarded it from attempts to reduce the tax that pays for it."

Perhaps Jesse Ventura's difficulty in matching his actions with his rhetoric is due to his background as an entertainer. Professional wrestling is built on illusion. Nothing is for real. One might say the same of Ronald Reagan's pre-political career, but Reagan had one thing Ventura lacks: an ideology. After a few fiscal decisions proved too tough, the Body started calling himself a "pragmatist." From then on, every policy was up for grabs and largely dependent on his cadre of liberal advisers.

Nowhere has this been more evident than in the area of metropolitan land-use planning. Ventura's appointment of Ted Mondale, son of Walter, to head up the Twin Cities' regional government, the Metropolitan Council, was consistent with his unwavering commitment to mass transit and new urbanism at the expense of roads and suburbs. This hasn't sat well with the Twin Cities' fastest growing political constituency, right-leaning suburbanites.

Nevertheless, Ventura's intellectual inconsistencies, as well as his strange behavior, were tolerated until the economy went south and he climbed aboard the tax-hike bandwagon. Then, instead of realizing his mistake, he characteristically dug in his heels. Citing the war on terrorism, he offered the maudlin suggestion that it was Minnesota's patriotic duty to raise taxes: "I've been accused of breaking a campaign promise that I would never raise taxes. Well, . . . in a time of war and in defense of our country, I will break any campaign promise." It didn't fly—a February poll by the Minneapolis *Star-Tribune* showed only 29 percent of state voters would support the governor for reelection. Ventura the outsider was left holding the big-government bag.

To be sure, Ventura is never completely down and out, and anything could have happened had he run in what was shaping up as a three-way race. But the governor's image had taken a beating. His unorthodox stances on certain issues (he refused to sign a routine proclamation observing a National Day of Prayer, for instance) were wearing thin, and the numerous mini-scandals (the latest of which involved his son's use of the governor's mansion) were approaching critical mass.

In the midst of this year's budget battle, Ventura blurted out, "If Minnesota doesn't want to make the contribution to fight this war, maybe I don't want to be governor of this state." His backtracking on taxes had delivered the coup de grâce to his political career, and in the end he knew it. ♦

Illustration by Drew Friedman

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How to Win the Peace in Afghanistan

America needs to stay the course.

By Elie D. Krakowski

Winning the peace in Afghanistan is not optional. It is a national necessity. Early American military victories, the current low level of fighting, and the recent completion of the *loya jirga*, or council of elders, all have contributed to a false sense of progress evident both in official U.S. statements and in the media. There is also, however, a growing discomfort, an as yet unarticulated perception that all is not well on the Afghan front.

The reality is that the situation is both worse and better than is often realized. Worse, because if current policies remain unchanged, we stand to lose all the gains achieved thus far, with Afghanistan plunged into a chaos worse than before. Better, because a stable, long-term settlement is within reach if we are willing to adopt a comprehensive strategy designed to help bring it about. To be sure, even if we are willing, this won't be easy. The key to a lasting solution lies outside the borders of Afghanistan, in the involvement of the surrounding countries and in unflagging, careful leadership from the United States.

Success in Afghanistan is crucial not only to U.S. honor but also to peace in the region—for the Islamists have designs on all of Central Asia.

Already, as the first major theater in the war on terror, Afghanistan has acquired enormous significance. Anything short of a decisive and complete victory would make further progress in the war on terror far more difficult if not impossible. If the United States does not have the will to stay the course in Afghanistan, why should terrorists and their sponsors believe that it will have it elsewhere?

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Moreover, Washington is not operating from a blank slate in this domain. Its reputation for jumping in and out of crises is well known. Afghans and others in the region remember only too well how quickly the United States forgot about Afghanistan once Soviet troops left in 1989.

Although the situation now is vastly different, the same strong desire to finish the job and get out has been evident from the beginning. Even before military operations wound down, the United States was intimating that it wanted to withdraw and turn over the shaping and management of the country's reconstruction to others. The fact that military operations are taking longer than some anticipated has not altered that fundamental urge.

Certainly many in the region believe the United States will not remain engaged in Afghanistan for the long haul. As one diplomat put it, "Once the Americans believe they are finished with al Qaeda, the media will leave; and once that happens, the U.S. government will lose interest." Such views are reinforced by a broader questioning of American seriousness in the pursuit of the war on terror. Writing during the U.S. bombing in Afghanistan, a retired Pakistani general, former head of military intelligence (ISI) and currently Pakistan's ambassador to Saudi Arabia, described Washington as acting in anger. And, he said, when America is angry others should be ready to duck. But the anger will pass, and then everyone can continue as before.

Success in Afghanistan is important, however, not solely because the United States has invested its military might and honor there. It is also crucial to the peace and independence of the surrounding states—for the same Islamist terrorists who targeted the Twin Towers and the Pentagon dream of creating an Islamist empire across a swath of Asia.

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Strategically insignificant on its own, Afghanistan has been a bone of contention between empires. And it still is. It is this characteristic—that it sparks the desires of outsiders—that continues to dominate today. This is why any settlement of Afghanistan's massive problems has little chance of success unless it addresses adequately the regional context.

Contenders for control over Afghanistan in the nineteenth century were the British and Russian empires. In the second half of the twentieth there was a southward thrust by the Soviets (1979-1989), followed by an attempted northward thrust by the Pakistanis after the Soviet troop withdrawal and the collapse of the Soviet Union (1991-2001).

It was this second attempt to control Afghanistan from the outside that served to destabilize not just that country but also all those around it, a process that has not yet been brought to an end. And it is that destabilization that would be measurably increased should the United States fail in Afghanistan, with catastrophic consequences for all concerned.

Pakistan realized early on that the Afghans are not easily controlled. Its solution was to use Afghan Islamist leaders as Pakistani proxies. The Pakistanis' reasoning was simple: Extremist Muslims had never had any real popular support in Afghanistan and would need Islamabad's help not just to seize power, but also to hold it. The Taliban, whose leadership was made up of at best semi-literate individuals, inexperienced and incompetent in managing the affairs of state, was but the latest of Pakistan's unfortunate selections.

After initial successes due far more to the Afghans' exhaustion from war and thirst for peace than to any military prowess of the Taliban, that radical movement proved unable to achieve military victory. The ensuing stalemate led to a gradual takeover of the Taliban by a combination of Wahhabi Muslims from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, Pakistani Islamists, and an assortment of extremists from many countries (Uzbeks, Chechens, Chinese Uighurs, and others). Among all of these, it was Osama bin Laden, who arrived in Afghanistan in 1996, and his al Qaeda organization that dominated and soon came to be the key decision-makers in what passed as Taliban edicts in the outside world.

Many of the Taliban's notorious deeds—the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas, the scorched earth policy followed in some northern provinces, numerous massacres—were actually attributable to bin Laden and his Arabs. Afghanistan had become a global terrorism headquarters, training people from around the world in its over 30 terrorist camps. The objective shared by this rainbow coalition of extremists was the spread of the Wahhabi brand of radical Islam. Pakistani Islamists openly proclaimed their desire to replace the Pakistani government with one in the image of the Taliban. With regard to China, the aim was to create an independent Islamist state in the western Chinese border province of Xinjiang. The ultimate ambition was an Islamist empire extending from Pakistan in the south through Afghanistan and including the states of Central Asia.

That these goals were publicly and repeatedly declared did not mean that Washington so much as noticed them. The United States, almost until the end, continued to view events in Afghanistan through the Pakistani lens. Even Afghanistan's neighbors at first paid little attention, although the newly independent states of Central Asia, aware of their own fragility, were the first to sense the danger. From 1998 onward, as evidence mounted of the terrorist networks' extensive penetration, the regional governments became increasingly anxious. By 2000, high officials and other influential personalities in all the surrounding states including Iran saw not the Taliban but bin Laden and his Arab cohorts as the problem. In an extensive series of interviews in the region in 2000 and 2001, they told me that they did not know what to do, and that only the United States could break the logjam.

The situation in the summer of 2002 remains very serious and the risks high. Continuing sweeps by U.S. and British Special Forces have managed to keep the terrorist groups off-balance. But the inability to actually find al Qaeda or Taliban forces does not mean they are absent, only that the war has entered a hit-and-run phase. There is growing evidence that the terrorist forces have moved into Pakistan, which may be well on the way to becoming their new haven.

While they are apparently concentrated in the largely ungoverned North-West Frontier Province, there are also reports of al Qaeda and Taliban in Pakistani cities. Add the tens of thousands of armed Pakistani Islamists and their allies *within* the Pakistani government and armed forces, and the explosive nature of the mix becomes even clearer. Heightened violence including suicide bombers within Pakistan is likely, as are similar attacks in Afghanistan.

In addition, Afghanistan's neighbors appear to have resumed their old pattern of divisive intervention in anticipation of U.S. disengagement. While not yet fully certain this will occur, they are preparing for it by making sure they don't leave the field to others, and attempting to maximize their individual positions within the country.

They have been arming their favorite factions and otherwise encouraging ethnic and tribal confrontation. The

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Getty Images / Behrouz Mehri

Delegates to the loya jirga *discuss appointments to Afghanistan's new government, June 15, 2002.*

Iranians, who once restricted their backing to Afghan Shiite groups, for several years have backed the Northern Alliance forces that continue to dominate the interim Afghan government. The Russians and Uzbeks have also backed the Northern Alliance. Elements within the Pakistani government continue to support their traditional favorites, the majority Pashtuns. Very active at the regional and local level, these neighbors remain somewhat cautious at the national level. They have shown some flexibility, while making sure of the continued dominance of the Northern Alliance forces in the new interim government.

Of these neighbors, Iran is the one whose behavior is the most disturbing. It has not limited its actions to interference within Afghanistan, but is actively (and with regard to Middle Eastern terrorist groups, openly) supporting and training terrorist groups in Central Asia, notably the Uzbek IMU.

It is under these difficult circumstances that we must win the peace. First and most important, we must fully realize our own strength. We need to shed the self-doubt that seems to accompany every decision entailing a modicum of risk. The Pakistani general quoted above revealed something telling: When President Bush stated America's objective as the elimination of terrorism, when he said that states had a choice to be with us or against us, and when the United States attacked in Afghanistan, people were afraid. When the president identified an "axis of evil" and warned states sympathetic to it that they would become targets unless they changed their ways, they believed he might be serious.

Subsequent American behavior has raised some doubts. Perhaps the Pakistani general was right. Perhaps America acted only from anger, and anger is difficult to sustain. What is needed is not anger. It is will, applied to a reasoned, calculated strategy designed to achieve results in the conditions that now confront us.

Americans may still not fully realize the extent of the dangers at hand. The states surrounding Afghanistan are keenly aware of them. If anything the events of September 11 have increased their desire for a strong American role. While they are wary of a continued U.S. presence in the region and a pro-American Afghanistan, those concerns compete with their continuing fears of al Qaeda and the global Islamist movement. These states have no difficulty visualizing the destruction of the Taliban and the rout of al Qaeda in Afghanistan as leading merely to the relocation of the Islamist forces elsewhere in and near Central Asia.

The Afghans themselves are not the stumbling block to a lasting peace and reconstruction. They are tired of fighting and willing to come to terms with each other. But Afghans, like everyone else on the planet, compete for power and influence. And when external assistance directed to individual ethnic or tribal groups is plentiful and forthcoming, there is little reason to expect that they will refrain from taking advantage of it.

An effective settlement, therefore, must rechannel the continuing interference of Afghanistan's neighbors in more constructive directions. And to do this entails a central and continuing American role. The United States is

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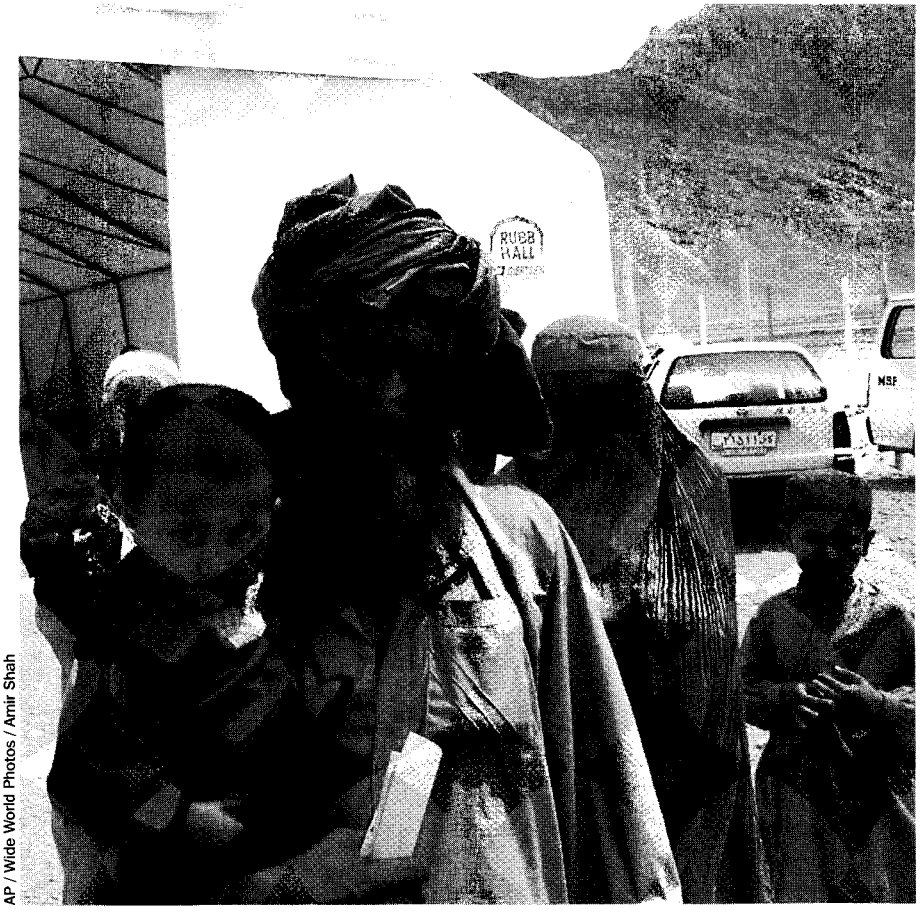

AP / Wide World Photos / Amir Shah

Returning refugees near Kabul, June 1, 2002. Afghans are streaming home from Pakistan and Iran.

the only power capable of materially affecting outcomes, and as an outsider to the region, it is also the most appropriate for the role.

As I have argued elsewhere in more detail, a comprehensive strategy for winning the peace in Afghanistan would create a web of interactions to achieve the following objectives: (1) ensure that the United States remains involved in the region over the long term, (2) convincingly demonstrate to the states of the region that it will so remain, (3) place the United States in a position to press and enforce its views, or at least to act as a balancer among competing regional interests, and (4) minimize the ability of regional states to do mischief and to assist individual Afghan factions or groups.

The best way—probably the only way—of accomplishing these ends is to institutionalize in a more coherent framework what is now a haphazard set of individual and bilateral interactions. For that purpose, two separate bodies should be created.

The first, a Concert of States, would be a small group made up of the United States, Afghanistan, its neighbors (Pakistan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, China), Russia, and possibly India, which has a history of involvement in Afghanistan. Periodic high-level meetings of the members would be supplemented by the creation of a smaller body composed of a special envoy for Afghanistan from each member state. The Concert would define, guarantee, and help to maintain an Afghan settlement. It would deal with all the substantive issues to arise in conjunction with an Afghan settlement and help make developments in the region more visible and open. While rechanneling the involvement of regional states, it would also lessen their fear of being somehow excluded as players on the Afghan scene.

Because the needs of Afghan reconstruction are so great, a much larger grouping of states is also required. This second body, a Reconstruction and Development Conference, would include the states willing and able to contribute financially to Afghan reconstruction. Created for a period of five to ten years and designed to lapse unless extended by a two-thirds vote, the Conference would review needs, accept pledges, and oversee the progress of reconstruction. Here as well, periodic high-level meetings of donor states would be supplemented by the creation of a small secretariat designed to ensure continuity of involvement in Afghanistan and to prepare for the high-level meetings. Again, the larger the number of states involved and the greater their interest in what happens in the region, the less the chance that any of the neighboring states could engage in mischief.

The internal dimension of an Afghan settlement is obviously no less crucial than the international aspect, and needs to be dealt with concurrently. The chief objective here is to ensure that Afghans are in fact free to decide for themselves the exact shape of their system and how they want to govern themselves. On this as on many other issues, the rhetoric has often been at variance with the reality.

This does not mean that the outside world must refrain from insisting on certain fundamental requirements, only that it should refrain from seeking to impose its own particular values. Thus, we must be unyielding on representative government but not on the particular Western form of it. Respect for human rights and internationally recognized standards also must be insisted upon. A serious concern among Afghan minorities is the protection of ethnic groups. While there clearly need to be safe-

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guards on this subject, Afghans—especially those drafting a new constitution—must be brought to understand that protecting individual rights ensures group rights, while the opposite is not true.

Similarly, no compromise is possible on the participation in the new government of leaders guilty of gross crimes in the past. The Islamists Abdul Rassoul Sayyaf and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, for example, must at all costs be excluded. They personify the dangers to Afghanistan from meddlesome neighbors, dependent as they are on Saudi and Pakistani funding.

At present, however, even more urgent than the founding principles of government is the issue of security. Its continuing lack within the country seriously endangers progress toward national reconstruction and even toward a stable and effective government.

The building of a national army will take time. Some have argued with passion that interim security can be provided by a major expansion of the international security force now limited to Kabul. A better, more economical and effective way to fulfill this interim security need would be to place small numbers of U.S. Special Forces in key towns, and increase further roving patrols. Afghans are very impressed with American power, methods, and presence, and have themselves said that small numbers of Americans have a big impact. Some have told me that even the overflight of an American bomber has a soothing effect.

The strategy suggested here is realistic and feasible. That does not mean there are no obstacles to overcome—of which Iran is probably the most conspicuous. The problem is not so much whether Tehran would be willing to join the proposed Concert of States. It is rather that Iran's active and open sponsorship of terrorist groups far and wide makes its adherence distasteful and its trustworthiness nil. The Iranian government must be confronted on these issues. Washington should make it clear that unless Tehran undertakes to change its behavior, it will not be included. The United States should point out that for a state that has a fairly large non-Iranian population within its borders it is particularly dangerous to encourage subversion in others. Two could play the same game. Last but not least, the establishment of the Concert of States without Iran would increase the regime's isolation and thereby further heighten incentives to alter its behavior.

In the final analysis, success in the war on terror, not just in Afghanistan but elsewhere as well, depends on an assertion of will, informed by a recognition that there is no such thing as risk-free foreign policy or national defense. A determined America—conveying to Afghanistan and the surrounding countries its steadfastness, while seeking their contribution within the context of a strategic framework clear to all—is far more likely to succeed than a reactive America secretly pining to go home. ♦

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The Way Forward for the Palestinians

It's economic development, not peace-processing.

By Daniel Doron

Jerusalem

The latest mission impossible embraced by those who would resolve the Middle East conflict is the effort to "democratize" the Palestinian Authority, an organization that has thrived on repression, violence, and aggressive irredentism. Meanwhile, a far more promising route to peace—the path of economic cooperation and development—is being neglected or given mere lip service. It's as if the only form of economic life possible for Palestinians were the one that has prevailed in the last ten years—the provision of foreign billions to huge bureaucracies that squandered or stole much of it, while lawlessness and corruption suppressed private initiatives. There was a time, however, when the slow growth of a Palestinian middle class with a real stake in peace was helping mitigate the conflict and make it manageable.

Once, the slow growth of a Palestinian middle class with a real stake in peace was helping mitigate the conflict and make it manageable.

During the quarter century from the Six Day War till the Oslo Accords, from 1967 to 1993, political stalemate actually enabled a quiet peace. In those years, Israel maintained a modicum of law and order in Palestinian areas, and the Palestinian economy flourished, its GDP more than quadrupling. The Palestinian standard of living rose dramatically. Infant mortality fell, seven new colleges and universities were established (where none had existed under Jordanian rule), and the welfare of the people, especially of women and children, improved so much that the birth rate soared.

Most Palestinians seemed to prefer this slowly evolving peace to the political ambitions of their leaders. Thus, shortly after Oslo but before PLO incitement had infected their minds and provoked bloody clashes with Israel, the Palestinian inhabitants of East Jerusalem were asked to choose to receive either Palestinian Authority or Israeli identity papers. Over 95 percent chose Israeli. They did so despite disliking Israeli occupation and loathing Israeli bureaucracy (which drives even Israelis up the wall). They cared more about feeding their families and advancing their personal interests than grabbing for instant political gratification.

Already they were wary of Arafat's nascent Palestinian Authority. Real estate prices plummeted in Arab sections rumored to be destined for transfer to the Palestinian Authority. More recently, most "experts" predicted that an Israeli move to occupy the Orient House, the PLO's illegal stronghold in Jerusalem, would see the city's large Arab population erupt in bloody riots. The State Department sternly warned Israel not to take this step. Yet the takeover last year elicited only feeble protests by a few dozen employees of the Palestinian Authority and some peace activists and Quaker volunteers displaying signs in English for the benefit of CNN.

During the quarter century of relative peace, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians worked in Israel. Crossing through border checkpoints was infuriatingly slow and humiliating, but once inside Israel they had total freedom of movement. Had they been committed to the PLO struggle against Israel, they could have inflicted enormous damage. Yet only a very few of them, generally PLO hirelings, engaged in acts of terrorism.

Most Arabs were reluctant to join in Arafat's war. Most, after the occupation of the disputed territories in 1967, constituted a silent majority who preferred accommodation with Israel. Even now, when Arabs feel great anger about Israeli military incursions, few express their fury in violent actions. In Jerusalem, Arabs have

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remained moderate in the face of numerous PLO provocations because they benefit greatly from the commerce generated by tourism, which depends on peace. And in Gaza, the hotbed of radicalism, Palestinian workers last Thursday showed their priorities when tens of thousands mounted an unprecedented "Hunger March" against the Palestinian Authority, demanding that it stop violence against Israel so they could go back to work there and earn money to support their families.

The radicals have never extinguished this normal human wish to work and provide. During the first intifada, in the late 1980s, Palestinians opened informal markets on the demarcation lines between Arab and Jewish areas catering to Israelis who couldn't shop in Israel on the Sabbath except in kibbutzim. These markets were earning the Palestinians an estimated $300 million annually, half as much as they receive in foreign aid and about one-quarter of their GNP.

Eager to lure Jewish buyers, Arab shopkeepers did all they could to keep the peace and promote good relations with their customers. Arab merchants developed a lucrative trade with Israel. Palestinian agriculture, once primitive, became advanced and prosperous. The large surplus of workers this created found employment in Israel as unskilled labor. Gradually they acquired new skills, raising their income or opening new industrial and commercial ventures, many of which became quite prosperous.

Employment in and trade with Israel were major reasons for the dramatic improvement in the Palestinian standard of living. But they also had unintended consequences, some painful. They brought Arab traditionalists into intimate contact with a modern society and acquainted them with the workings of a boisterous democracy. This forced adjustments in Palestinian family and clan structure and authoritarian political frameworks. So did the violent struggle against Israel, which offered lower-class youths adventure and an avenue for rapid upward mobility through accomplishments in terrorist exploits.

The prosperity enjoyed by tradesmen stirred resentment among the Arab bureaucratic and intellectual elites. They had earned up to four times as much as workers under Jordanian rule, but now saw unskilled laborers in Israel earning far more than they could. Contact between the Arabs' almost medieval ethos of loyalty to location and clan and the Israelis' super-modern, sometimes brazenly liberal ethos exacerbated the religious and national conflict. Confronting modernity caused deep anxiety—notably among students whose parents could now send them to Israeli universities, where they were indoctrinated by radical leftist Israeli academics promoting Palestinian statehood with greater fervor than most Arabs. Soon, the newly established colleges and universities in the disputed territories were hotbeds of radicalism, first Marxist, then Islamic fundamentalist.

Concurrently, among the older, more settled Palestinians, a more moderate middle class was gradually developing. It held out the hope that some accommodation could evolve in time, as Arabs and Jews found it mutually advantageous to work and trade with each other.

All this, Oslo ruined by focusing primarily on politics. Conceived in the utopian hope that peace could be bought from a reformed Arafat and his Tunisian cohorts in exchange for territory, Oslo postulated that Arafat would turn his proven brutality against his more radical allies, Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Under the guidance of a messianic Shimon Peres captivated by a vision of a New Middle East where factories and hotels rather than armies would keep borders peaceful, the Israeli peace camp made a bargain with the devil, totally ignoring the realities of Israeli and Arab society. It was bound to backfire. Arafat fashioned his "Authority" after the only model he knew, repressive Arab regimes. He dedicated his regime not to civil order and economic development but to the waging of war. He oppressed not Hamas and Islamic Jihad, but the majority of Palestinians who for years had been quietly working out an uneasy but pragmatic modus vivendi with Israel, a real if informal peace.

Arafat's 12 security services and 50,000 soldiers engaged in summary executions, kidnapping, rape, and extortion, spreading corruption and poverty wherever they went. Some of the funds donated by the United States and Europe for economic reconstruction, especially among the refugees, were simply stolen; most were used to build a war machine, paying for weapons and soldiers, as well as for the Palestinian Authority's 140,000 bureaucrats. It did not matter to Arafat and his comrades if the war they waged—the second intifada, which began in September 2000—resulted in the almost total destruction of the Palestinian economy. The Palestinian standard of living fell by more than half, and unemployment soared to 60 percent, up from almost full employment before Oslo. The more miserable the Palestinians became, the easier it was for Arafat's relentless propaganda broadcasts to rechannel public rage against the Israelis.

Even as it grew evident that Arafat had no interest in peace, the international Peace Now camp, whose adherents dominate the State Department and many European chancelleries, plunged ahead, promising ever more international meetings at which ever more concessions would

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be made to terrorism, encouraging Arafat's regime to attempt further blackmail of Israel by the use of violence. Now it is reported that the United States is about to reward Arafat with a Palestinian state.

True, there is talk about the need to reform the Palestinian Authority. But reform cannot be only political. If the Palestinians are to have the slightest chance of repairing their system, arrangements must first be worked out to secure law and order. Then a civilian Palestinian leadership, presiding over a demilitarized administration, should be encouraged to employ pro-market economists and political scientists to inventory the institutions still operative in Palestinian society so as to reshape some, shut down others, and establish new ones. Only then will a civilian government be able to tackle the practical problems aggravating the conflict, especially the Palestinians' dismal poverty.

The United States and the European Union, which financed Arafat's criminal regime, must now help Palestinian moderates create a law-abiding government that facilitates economic growth. Such moderates will make themselves known once they cease to be terrorized by Arafat and his gangs. Their task is not an easy one, but if Germany and Japan could do it after World War II, there is no reason the Palestinians, a hard-working and intelligent people, can't do it now.

A massive building program would provide jobs for Palestinian workers and contractors. It would jump-start an economic upturn.

Once a Palestinian entity ceases to pose a threat to Israel, Israel will be able to reduce drastically the number of closures it imposes on Palestinian cities and villages. These closures, designed to prevent terrorist attacks, have punished Arab workers seeking employment, pushing some into the lap of Hamas. With more resources available for peace, Israel could quickly develop and deploy sophisticated detection equipment that would make security precautions, which now can delay the flow of goods by weeks, less onerous. This alone would remove a major impediment to Palestinian economic activity.

While Israel bears no moral responsibility for the refugee problem that resulted from deadly Arab aggression against it, it should do all it can to restore these unfortunates to normal life, as it has for Jewish refugees from Arab lands. Israel should provide housing to displaced Arabs once the stiff opposition of the Palestinian Authority, which nursed and exploited the refugees' plight, is gone. Government-owned land near the "camps" should be provided with infrastructure, and refugee families invited to construct dwellings in their customary cooperative manner. They could also be offered low-interest building loans or compensation for lost property when appropriate.

A massive building program would provide jobs and income for Palestinian construction workers and contractors. It would prime the pump in related trades and services and jump-start a Palestinian economic upturn.

The Palestinian Arabs have a comparative advantage in labor intensive trades. Israel should open its markets to their products. Israeli farmers unable to compete with Arab farmers growing vegetables should be helped to move to the production of upscale products—exotic fruits, vegetables and flowers, speciality cheeses, and wines. Similar arrangements could be worked out in the construction materials, apparel, and footwear industries and other sectors where Arab competition displaced Israeli workers.

The Israeli government must also cut its high taxes and red tape, which inhibit Israeli and Arab entrepreneurs alike and discourage joint ventures. Israeli policy should facilitate the construction of Palestinian-Israeli industrial parks, like the one built near the Gaza Strip (but unused since the intifada) by the Israeli industrialist Stef Wertheimer. Constructed where Palestinian areas and Israel meet, such parks could alleviate the security and logistical problems involved in busing tens of thousands of Arab workers to Israel daily. They could also provide Arab entrepreneurs a modern infrastructure for manufacturing and other business.

Israel must keep its hands off the informal markets that have sprung up along the edges of Palestinian areas, which have been extremely popular with Israeli bargain-hunters. These markets, in a sort of commercial no man's land, should be encouraged to flourish, as they provide the best environment for peaceful relations.

Prolonged national conflicts are not susceptible to quick fixes. It took Europe centuries to overcome intractable national and religious conflicts. Economic cooperation and growth were essential to resolving them. New interests and benefits created by economic integration helped people transcend the old barriers and made some of them irrelevant. This can happen in the Middle East.

Economic development may be more arduous and less glamorous than peace processing, but it has proved its ability to moderate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This is no small accomplishment, considering the violence and mayhem unleashed when leaders have pursued a political settlement first. ♦

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Telling Socialism's Story

Resurrecting the novels of Victor Serge

By Stephen Schwartz

Bolsheviks Raiding a Monastery by Achille Beltrame. Archivo Iconografico, S.A. / CORBIS.

Who now reads Victor Serge? The novelist is nearly unknown these days, even among the most literate readers. Few of his titles—*Men in Prison*, *Birth of Our Power*, *Conquered City*, *Midnight in the Century*, *The Case of Comrade Tulayev*, *The Long Dusk*—can be found in bookstores. His once classic *Memoirs of a Revolutionary* has fallen far below the memory horizon.

Born in Belgium in 1891, Serge was the scion of a family of eminent Russian exiles (his uncle Nikolai Kibalchich, for instance, was a famous nineteenth-century conspirator against the tsar). His first ideological commitment was to the proletarian anarchism that flourished in western Europe in those days, and so he became involved with a notorious group of "social bandits," the Bonnot Gang, who were mainly involved in bank robberies and shootouts with the police. In 1913, after the most famous "anarchist trial" of the time, he went to jail in France, the experience that produced his first novel, *Men in Prison*.

Serge was freed when the advance of German troops encouraged his guards to run away in 1916, and he went to revolutionary Russia by way of equally insurrectionary Barcelona (the experience that produced, in turn, *Birth of Our Power*). The Bolsheviks were in the saddle in the former tsarist empire, and he gave himself to the new dispensation heart and soul. The former anarchist bandit became a functionary of the new regime—and the result was *Conquered City*, a nearly unique work: a mystery story set among the police agents of the Cheka, forerunner of the KGB.

But Serge also saw that a moral gap separated the Bolshevik dictators from their promises of democracy and improvement in the people's welfare. He became a supporter of Trotsky and ended up again in prison, with his next novel, *Midnight in the Century*, a description of life in the Gulag. *The Case of Comrade Tulayev* (the favorite of many critics) is an account of Russian communism at the moment when the worst Stalinist purges began.

In 1936, following protests by André Gide, André Malraux, and Romain Rolland, Serge was released and allowed to leave Russia—one of the very few cases to anticipate the similar destiny, decades later, of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. He went to Spain in time to see the revolutionary movement there caught between the grindstones of fascism and Stalinism. Along the way, as he developed serious differences with the exiled Trotsky, he began to insist that the Bolshevik experiment had been antidemocratic from the beginning. It is largely thanks to Serge that the early Bolshevik massacre of dissident sailors at Kronstadt in 1921 is known to the rest of the world.

With the fall of France to the Nazis,

Victor Serge
The Course Is Set on Hope
by Susan Weissman
Verso, 320 pp., $35

Stephen Schwartz's Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror *will be published at the end of the summer.*

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Serge fled to Mexico, where he died in mysterious circumstances in 1947, very likely murdered by a death squad of Mexican Communist cab drivers, whose activities were later revealed in the Venona decryptions of KGB messages. In his last years he was a contributor to the anti-Communist *New Leader* and *Partisan Review*. By the time of his death he belonged to the group perhaps best described as "anticipatory neoconservatives."

All of which presents a problem for his biographer, Susan Weissman, in her *Victor Serge: The Course Is Set on Hope*. Weissman remains a partisan of the radical left, wearing her politics on her sleeve, and she does what she can to preserve the image of Serge as never anything except a full-blown radical. But she is also conscientious—and even somewhat courageous: Accompanied by Serge's son Vlady, a painter in Mexico, Weissman went to Russia after the fall of communism and searched relentlessly through the archives for documents on Serge's case, including lost manuscripts. In the course of her research, she turned up quite a bit of new evidence about Stalinist terrorism in the West during the 1930s and 1940s.

The result in *Victor Serge* is a fine book that no one is likely to read. Serge's natural audience among general readers has forgotten that the novelist ever existed, while the bedraggled ends of the socialist left—who do remember Serge, as they never forget or forgive anything—demand that he be resurrected only to be attacked. For example, take a look at the unpleasant hatchet-job performed on *Victor Serge* in the Spring issue of *Dissent*, organ of the recusant anti-anti-Communist school of Irving Howe.

The *Dissent* review makes some gestures toward claiming Serge as a perduring man of the left. It quotes Lewis Coser, for instance, who wrote, "Serge taught us that one can hate Stalinist oppression, without becoming so imbued by hatred that one forgets the many evils of this world, seeing only one great evil." In other words, Serge was good because, even after having seen the evils of the Soviet system, he still condemned unjust capitalism. (How is this an answer? The same might be said of everyone from George Orwell to John Paul II.) The review also quotes Dwight Macdonald's warning to Serge in 1945 that his *Memoirs of a Revolutionary* could not be published in the United States at that time—making it sound like a victim of American anti-leftism when, in reality, the obstacle was the Stalinist grip on New York publishing.

But mostly what *Dissent* aims to do is to undermine Serge by sabotaging Weissman's biography and obscuring the real evils of Moscow's secret police

Victor Serge

and the anger of Serge's reaction to them. Susan Weissman's description of the Russian poet Marina Tsvetayeva as a participant in a KGB network in France in the 1930s is denounced, for example, as "especially cruel"—when, in reality, the Tsvetayeva case is one of the most appalling in the history of the Stalinist misuse of intellectuals.

The truth is that Victor Serge is valuable less for political reasons than for literary ones. He showed us—at a moment at which the lesson was particularly valuable—that realistic left-wing fiction could be written without sounding like a bad imitation of *The Grapes of Wrath*. Take Serge's *The Case of Comrade Tulayev*, written in Mexican exile during World War II and published in English posthumously in 1950. Criticized by Irving Howe as "stately" (meaning old-fashioned and bourgeois), it is a rich panorama of life at the onset of extreme Stalinism. But the book, like all of Serge's later work, also represents a kind of "memory cabinet" of the civilization he saw perish in the horrors of totalitarianism: a society of idealism, sentimentality, and stability. Inevitably, the novel also details the descent of millions of people into collective insanity.

The narrative focuses on the incident that served as a pretext for the wholesale liquidation of the old Bolsheviks: the murder of Leningrad party secretary Sergei Mironovich Kirov in 1934. A popular leader, Kirov was shot to death in the corridors of Smolny, the local party headquarters. A young man named Nikolayev fired the shot. But the Kirov affair remains, even today, one of the murkiest chapters in Soviet history. The ensuing purges certainly paralleled the Nazis' murderous "night of the long knives" that had taken place five months before. There is much evidence that Stalin himself ordered Kirov murdered. Although as Leningrad party chief he was known as a firm member of the Stalinist faction, Kirov had also argued against the execution of a dissident named Ryutin in 1931, and the seventeenth Bolshevik party congress, in January 1934, saw an unsuccessful attempt to replace Stalin with Kirov.

Serge had an intimate knowledge of the Leningrad Communist milieu and of the old Bolsheviks Lev Kamenev and Grigory Zinoviev, whose followers were massacred in the aftermath of the assassination. Yet he used *The Case of Comrade Tulayev* to suggest that the crime was an individual one—an act of vengeance by the silent, powerless mass against the Communist rulers, enacted through the anger of a single individual. In the novel, Kostya, a young man at the bottom of the Soviet order, having obtained a revolver, kills the party secretary in a moment of blind protest, enraged at the suicide of a young woman abused by the party machine.

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The shooting of Tulayev is the sort of act Serge had lived with throughout his life as a European anarchist and Russian revolutionary, but it has inexorable consequences. The second chapter, entitled "The Sword is Blind," evokes the claustrophobia and panic in the control apparatus of the dictatorship:

> The papers briefly announced "the premature death of Comrade Tulayev." The first secret investigation produced sixty-seven arrests in three days. Suspicion at first fell on Tulayev's secretary, who was also the mistress of a student who was not a Party member. Then it shifted to the chauffeur who had brought Tulayev to his door—a Security man with a good record, not a drinker, no questionable relations, a former soldier in the special troops, and a member of the Bureau of his garage cell. Why had he not waited until Tulayev had entered the house, before driving off? Why, instead of going in immediately, had Tulayev walked a few paces down the sidewalk? Why? The entire mystery of the crime seemed to center in these two unknowns. No one was aware that Tulayev had hoped to spend a few minutes with the wife of an absent friend; that a bottle of vodka and two dimpled arms, a milky body, warm under a house dress, were waiting for him. . . . But the fatal bullet had not been shot from the chauffeur's pistol; and the fatal weapon remained undiscoverable.

Later come more arrests, interrogations, an attempt to organize Western opinion against the advancing purge, executions. Because it centers on a crime, *The Case of Comrade Tulayev* is a unique mystery novel through the mirror: a detective story in which all is known from the beginning, and in which, rather than watching a rational effort to search out and punish a perpetrator, we see disorganized and vain attempts to punish whole strata of the populace for allowing such a thing to occur.

Unlike a common crime, or even a political assassination, in a normal, Western country, the Tulayev case cannot simply be investigated and resolved. The shooting of a high official has laid bare the entire perverse nature of the regime; it is the kind of fateful and dramatic event that rips the mask from a whole society.

In this context, and with genius, Serge applied the techniques of the nineteenth-century French novel to the examination of the totalitarian order. But with a significant difference: In the Communist universe, corruption is everywhere, eating into the soul of every citizen.

Even today, we in the West, far from the ex-Communist lands, know little of the texture of Stalinism's evil, the devastating effect on human beings of a system of naked power with no accountability and no institutions from which to obtain even a modicum of justice. We know that millions were killed in the Gulag, that the voices of poets were stifled at the same time that vast numbers of ordinary peasants were deliberately starved to death. Many Western intellectuals wish us to forget these details. That is, perhaps, the real reason Victor Serge has slipped away, and we have forgotten his powerful accounting of that immense system of atrocities and the lives of its victims—as well as of the hope and conscience of the old revolutionary movements, which died with them. That Serge escaped to tell the tale, like Ishmael in the waters of the ocean after the shipwreck in *Moby-Dick*, was a miracle.

Susan Weissman deserves honor for trying to restore Serge's reputation. Both as literature and as a window into the past, his books command a respect that has been denied them. ♦

A Mixed Legacy

The rise and fall of Duncan Hines.

BY EDMUND LEVIN

With 150 million boxes of cake mix sold each year, the name of Duncan Hines is as well known as ever. Aurora Foods, which owns the product line, boasts Duncan Hines has "92 percent unaided name recognition." But today few under retirement age realize that Hines was more than just a figment of the American marketing imagination like Betty Crocker, Mrs. Paul, or the Pillsbury Dough Boy.

Duncan Hines
The Man Behind the Cake Mix
by Louis Hatchett
Mercer University Press, 297 pp., $29.95

Louis Hatchett's *Duncan Hines: The Man Behind the Cake Mix* offers conclusive proof that Hines was not only a real human being but an American culinary hero, a contender for the greatest gourmand this country has ever produced. The irony that emerges is as vivid as the Day-Glo gleam of Duncan Hines Creamy Homestyle Wild Cherry Vanilla Frosting: Judged by Hines's first seven decades, his was just about the last name you'd expect on a box of cake mix.

Born in 1880 in Bowling Green, Kentucky, Hines learned about good food at the knee of his Grandma Duncan. "As a boy," Hines recalled, "the only thing I was really interested in was eating"—surely a remarkable statement for an American boy of any era. "We ate all the time . . . apple pie, pecan pie . . . country ham, candied yams, turnip greens with fatback, beaten biscuits and cornbread . . ." In childhood, Hatchett tells us, Hines discovered "his great passion: eating remarkable meals."

At eighteen, Hines took up a career in Chicago as a traveling salesman for a printing company. For a premature foodie like Hines, this was a problem. When he started out, Hines recalled,

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Photos: Mercer University Press.

Left: Duncan Hines and his wife Clara in 1957 at the "Duncan Hines test kitchen." Right: Hines in his home kitchen.

there was "good food in the cities, but in small towns and along the highways the average restaurant was a place of dirty tablecloths, crankcase coffee and pork chops cooked to a cinder." Food poisoning was an occupational hazard. ("More people will die this year from hit-or-miss eating than hit-and-run driving," he liked to say.)

Hines's first wife Florence shared his obsession. They had no children and few outside interests other than food. After traveling a thousand miles on business during the week, Hines would pick up Florence and they'd hit the road in search of culinary satisfaction. Hines started jotting down the names of good places to eat, and solicited colleagues' recommendations as well. The list grew. He didn't know it, but it was the genesis of the pioneering restaurant guide that would make Hines a household name.

In 1934, the *Chicago Tribune* ran a feature article about this man who knew all the best places to eat. It changed his life forever. The day the story ran, Hines's phone began ringing off the hook: "Executives bound for conferences, musicians going on the road, honeymooners choosing their destination—perfect strangers all—called for advice," Hines later said.

He hoped the calls would abate, but they didn't. At some point in 1935, he realized he was spending all his time answering the phone. Determined to put the calls to a stop, in November 1935 Hines and Florence compiled a list of the 167 best restaurants they had dined in over the years in some thirty states. Calling the list *Adventures in Good Eating*, he had a thousand copies printed and sent them along with his Christmas cards.

What happened, Hatchett recounts, is that "friends began deluging him with requests for still more copies. . . . And so did their friends . . . Hines had created a monster . . . To keep from going broke on printing costs, he began charging a dollar for it." The first book version of *Adventures in Good Eating* appeared in 1936. Ten years later, his books (including a recipe collection, *Adventures in Good Cooking*, and a guidebook, *Lodging for the Night*) were selling a quarter-million copies a year, and Hines was one of the best-known men in America.

No one today has anything like the stature Hines had in the food world of the 1940s and 1950s. In the public imagination, the Hines name evoked two qualities: integrity (he accepted no free meals or advertising) and an obsessive devotion to quality. Newspaperman Ernie Pyle wrote that Hines "had become something of a 'messiah' to travelers" who carried his "little red book" in their glove compartments. *Reader's Digest* quoted a famous chef to the effect that Hines "had done more in four years to lift the standard of the American cuisine than all the cooks had done in the previous forty."

Hines was a proselytizer for good food in a country that was often indifferent to it. He was ahead of his time in championing regional cooking with fresh, local ingredients. (He detested restaurants that "denied their geography.") He was also a tireless crusader for restaurant sanitation. The popular image of Hines, Hatchett writes, had him "lurking around the back doors of restaurants, discovering public hellholes serving unsanitary food too dreadful to contemplate." When he told an interviewer that people should inspect restaurant kitchens themselves, thousands did just that, causing quite a bit of commotion at some establishments.

How obsessed with food was he? Hines claimed to sit down to as many as eight meals a day, sampling, he said, "two soups, four entrees and at least three desserts" at a sitting. Distance was no obstacle. Hatchett tells us Hines "frequently drove over 400 miles to Nashville, Tennessee, to dine in a restaurant that served America's best apple pie, the crust of which [the chef] prepared by mixing chicken fat with the shortening."

The key to Hines's success was that he cared about only two things: food and his reputation. He wasn't much interested in money, and for years turned down lucrative endorsement offers. Which leads to the great mystery: How in the world could Duncan Hines—this man who second-guessed the overly spicy sauces Floridians put on Pompano, who yearned for "dumplings soft as thistledown," who railed at the "sinister influence" of the drugstore lunch counter, who obsessed about the quality of food and of his reputation—how in the world could he consent to putting his name on a box of cake mix?

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The answer consists of two words: Roy Park. A brilliant advertising man, Park was everything Hines was not. Hines was at heart a dilettante; Park was an operator. Hines wasn't terribly interested in money; Park (who would die in 1993 as America's 175th richest man) most certainly was. Hatchett tells the forgotten story of how this odd couple became the most powerful team in American food.

Park's firm, Agricultural Advertising and Research, represented retail farm cooperatives across the country. After World War II, Park occupied himself with a problem of intense interest to his clients: How to convince Americans to pay higher prices for quality food? Park's researchers concluded that housewives didn't really grasp the concept of quality when it came to food. They purchased their groceries "in a grudging manner" marked by "price watching" behavior. As Hatchett writes, Park concluded most Americans saw food as just something "to fill an intestinal void."

But there was one exception: the Sunkist orange. Alone among food producers, Sunkist, Park discovered, "had overcome the suspicion barrier . . . housewives regarded a Sunkist orange as something fresh, something tasty, something well worth the price. In short, Sunkist had glamorized the orange." Park had his mission: find a way to glamorize his clients' products.

Within months his market research team had the answer: "The name housewives most frequently associated with good, quality food was that of Duncan Hines." More people recognized Hines's name, they found, than that of Vice President Alben Barkley. Park was confident that putting Hines's name on a product would cause it to fly off the shelves. He met with Hines in November 1948, and within two days Hines had agreed to a product endorsement deal.

How did Park succeed in wooing and winning Hines where so many others had failed? He studied his mark until he understood him from the inside out. Park grasped that, aside from his stomach, there was only one alternative route to Hines's heart: his sense of integrity. Park was not trying to make Hines rich. No, no. He wanted to create food products in his *honor.* Or as Park recalled years later, he told Hines this was his chance to "upgrade American eating habits." Hatchett finds it difficult to say anything critical, but it's hard not to feel that Hines was had.

When his agricultural clients gave thumbs-down to the marketing plan, Park—ever the operator—created a new company, Hines-Park Foods. The first Duncan Hines cake mixes were introduced in 1951. While the Betty Crocker and Pillsbury products stressed pure convenience—"just add water or milk"—the Hines formula left out the dehydrated eggs and gave the housewife the feeling she was doing real baking. "I have found that strictly fresh eggs mean a bigger, better cake . . . in appearance, flavor and freshness," Hines proclaims on the box. The Duncan Hines cake mix line was soon vying for number one.

Hines once expressed contempt for the average American "who wants his food in a hurry." A 1938 *Saturday Evening Post* profile of Hines found running through his conversation "a tender and touching attachment to such items as unsweetened corn bread, white, first-run maple syrup, and properly cured hams, which at once stamps him as a sentimentalist and a poet." It's impossible to imagine any cake mix, even one with two fresh eggs, doing anything but offend his palate.

Hines's contract gave him veto power over any product. So why didn't he use it? Hatchett, who is overly worshipful of his subject, doesn't ask the question. The only answer, it seems, is that Hines was simply under the spell of Roy Park.

Though the Hines name would eventually be found on more than 200 products, from bread to pickles to cooking ranges, all that remain today are the cake mixes and frostings. After Hines's death in 1959 at age seventy-eight, his picture was taken off the boxes. The public's memory of why they originally trusted the name faded, but they still kept on buying. The name had become synonymous with the product—the product, with the name. It was, in a way, Roy Park's ultimate victory. ♦

Spies Like Us

The Schecters get the history of Soviet espionage not quite right. **BY HARVEY KLEHR**

Sacred Secrets
How Soviet Intelligence Operations Changed American History
by Jerrold and Leona Schecter
Brassey's, 320 pp., $18.95

Since the end of the Cold War a flood of revelations about Soviet espionage in America has discomfited old leftists and startled many Americans. Easy assumptions about how Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs had been framed or Harry Dexter White and Larry Duggan hounded into their graves by false charges have given way to documentary evidence that all of them were guilty of providing confidential information to Soviet intelligence agencies. Reflexive mantras about American overreaction to nonexistent internal security threats have been tempered by revelations that hundreds of Americans cooperated with the KGB and the GRU, turning over secrets from nearly every agency of the federal government.

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The sources of this information have been varied and mutually reinforcing. Former Soviet intelligence officers like Aleksandr Feklisov, Oleg Kalugin, Yuri Modin, and Pavel Sudoplatov have written memoirs. Access to Russian archives, first available after 1991, has been uneven and subject to various kinds of restrictions. Still, Comintern files open to scholars have produced evidence of espionage confirmed by KGB records made available to selected academics. The massive Mitrokhin archive, smuggled out of Russia by a disaffected intelligence officer, dovetailed with other intelligence material. In the mid-1990s, the National Security Agency released the Venona decryptions, which amplified and reinforced the Russian material.

Not all of the revelations have been received with the same confidence or respect. In the "wilderness of mirrors" that characterizes the secret world of espionage, private and public agendas, missing data, bureaucratic inertia, and bad memories can easily lead readers astray. Partial and piecemeal accounts of Soviet espionage have sometimes confused rather than clarified what actually took place. Some material comes with limitations: Access might be restricted to one or two people, information might be based on memories of events taking place half a century ago or distorted by selective leaks designed to advance a particular interpretation of the past. Still, each piece of information brings us closer to an accurate understanding of the most contentious era in recent American history.

The latest entry into this minefield is Jerrold and Leona Schecter's *Sacred Secrets: How Soviet Intelligence Operations Changed American History*. The Schecters are not newcomers to the controversies about Soviet intelligence operations and their impact on American life. He was *Time* magazine's bureau chief in Moscow from 1968 to 1972. In addition to serving as diplomatic editor of *Time*, Schecter was on Jimmy Carter's National Security Council. Together with his wife, he persuaded General Pavel Sudoplatov to tell the rather unsavory story of his life. *Special Tasks* generated headlines and outrage after its 1994 publication. Sudoplatov was a self-confessed assassin, a nasty piece of Stalinist work who had fallen from Soviet grace after Lavrenty Beria's arrest and execution. Jailed from 1953 to 1968, he was "rehabilitated" in 1992. The most spectacular and controversial part of his memoir was his assertion that a number of prominent Western scientists, notably Robert Oppenheimer, Enrico Fermi, and Leo Szilard, had provided the KGB with vital information about the atomic bomb being developed at Los Alamos. Outraged American scientists

Elizabeth Zarubina

defended their old colleagues and noted that the only evidence supplied for the claims was Sudoplatov's own memory of the files he had read or the operations he had overseen. They charged the book was a shoddy, inaccurate, and sensationalist effort to cash in on the public's fascination with conspiracy theories. The Schecters ardently defended the accuracy and reliability of Sudoplatov's charges.

Their new book will reopen many of the same wounds and inaugurate several new debates. *Sacred Secrets* is an exasperating work. A significant segment has very little to do with the ostensible topic. Filled with fascinating and important new data about Soviet espionage and some Americans who engaged in it, at the same time it is seriously flawed by the use of confidential sources whose motivations and reliability are unknown. While the Schecters have unearthed new material, they sometimes fail to integrate it successfully with what has previously been published, including some of Sudoplatov's own claims. And there are numerous small errors that cumulatively cast doubt either on their grasp of material or the care with which the book has been written and edited.

Portions of *Sacred Secrets* bear only the flimsiest connection to the major theme—how Soviet intelligence affected American history. The longest single chapter deals with how Jerrold Schecter negotiated with Victor Louis, a shadowy Soviet figure linked to the KGB, to arrange for the publication of Nikita Khrushchev's memoirs in the West. Interesting and significant as this coup was, the episode has very little to do with the rest of the book. Similarly, another long chapter detailing how American advances in reconnaissance technology helped end the Cold War is more properly the subject of a book on how American intelligence worked. The final substantive chapter very briefly deals with the Soviet perception that Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative was far more advanced than it really was and how this contributed to the collapse of the USSR. None of this material is particularly pertinent to the central theme of the book.

The Schecters claim to have unearthed new information about several prominent American figures, Harry Dexter White, Robert Oppenheimer, Albert Einstein, and Alger Hiss, who all illustrate a Soviet method of espionage tradecraft: "to surround a star source, usually a top policy maker, scientist or political insider, with a ring of satellite figures who did the actual spying and handing over of material to their Soviet handlers." They also claim that Soviet intelligence tried to surround both Franklin Roosevelt and his wife with a similar coterie of agents, although the Roosevelts were unaware of it. They insist that White, Oppenheimer, and Hiss were all cognizant of

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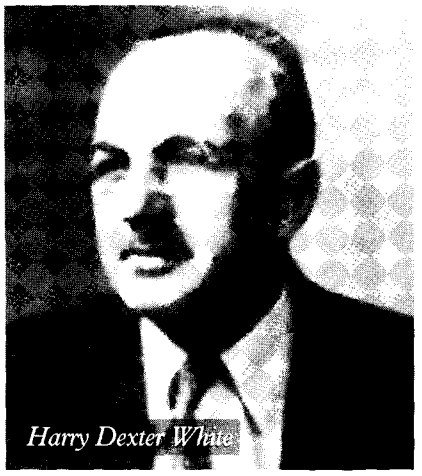
how they were being used, but leave Einstein's status unclear. And, they argue, Harry Truman was told of the Venona decryptions but out of political expediency chose not to act on them.

There is, however, less to their claims than meets the eye. Their own evidence casts doubt on the validity of the notion of a "star system." Both White and Hiss were, by the Schecters' account, actual spies who handed over material to Soviet controllers. They present no evidence that Einstein was ever a source, either consciously or inadvertently, of information. Only in the case of Oppenheimer is there evidence that he facilitated Soviet espionage by surrounding himself with people willing and able to turn over information.

Outside the ranks of *Nation* readers and a dwindling coterie of academic leftists, there are few people still willing to claim that Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White were not Soviet agents. In both cases, the only interesting controversy remaining is whether or not they attempted to use their positions to promote Soviet policies. Although he never became as prominent a symbol of Communist infiltration of the government as Hiss, White, who died of a heart attack just days after denying to the House Un-American Activities Committee that he had been a spy, was, arguably, far more influential. As assistant secretary of the treasury, he was Henry Morgenthau's closest aide. During the 1930s he had been a source from whom Whittaker Chambers collected information. Venona decryptions confirmed Elizabeth Bentley's charges that he turned over information to the KGB during World War II. One message shows White briefing Soviet intelligence about American negotiating strategy at the first United Nations conference.

The Schecters accuse White of attempting to tilt American policy in favor of the USSR on at least three different occasions. In 1941 a KGB agent was dispatched from Moscow on "Operation Snow." Fearful of having to fight a two-front war, the Soviets were anxious to deflect Japanese attention


Harry Dexter White

Alger Hiss

J. Robert Oppenheimer

and hostility in the Pacific southwards towards American and British interests. Urging White to take a tough stand against the Japanese, Vitaly Pavlov, according to a KGB document quoted by the Schecters, persuaded him to support actions bound to increase American-Japanese tensions and hence focus Japan's military plans towards war with the capitalists.

The second occasion involved the plans for the printing of occupation currency for Germany. White pushed strongly to give the USSR the currency plates to allow them to print occupation money, an action that cost the United States government hundreds of millions of dollars when the Soviets flooded the country with notes that were used to purchase American goods. A heretofore unknown memo from Gaik Ovakimian, head of the KGB's American desk, notes that "following our instructions," White "attained the positive decision of the Treasury Department to provide the Soviet side with the plates for engraving German occupation marks."

The third specific allegation concerns the Morgenthau Plan, a proposal to deindustrialize Germany after the war. Although they do not claim that White consulted with the Soviets about the plan, there is, they insist, evidence that White provided them with an early copy and information about the policy debate it sparked within the American government.

Provided the material the Schecters cite is accurate, a point discussed below, this new information demonstrates that White did more than merely turn over information; he attempted to, and sometimes did, influence policy decisions on behalf of the Soviet Union. Significant as this information is, however, the Schecters provide a confusing and not entirely persuasive account of just what he was doing by overstating White's influence on diplomatic and military policy as a Soviet agent and understating his responsibility for his actions. They claim that "lack of action from the War Department and the Department of State" in 1941 meant that "much of the thinking that prepared for war with Germany or tried to avoid war with Japan fell to" the Treasury Department, a gross overstatement of fact. Whatever his personal opinions and actions, White hardly was the decisive figure in preventing an American-Japanese agreement that

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might have averted Pearl Harbor. Moreover, the Schecters' claim that White "might not have understood" that the Soviet suggestions "were in contradiction to the peace-loving idealism for which he was known" and that "his cooperation led to results that were the opposite of his best intentions" suggests a naiveté that is belied by everything else about his career. At one point the Schecters seem to accept Pavlov's argument that White was not a controlled source and the Soviets had no need to recruit him since members of the Silvermaster ring surrounded him. Yet, they also document his direct meetings with KGB officers and his willingness to hand over documents.

The new information about Alger Hiss is less explosive. Citing confidential GRU (Soviet Military Intelligence) sources, the Schecters plausibly claim that during the Yalta conference, Hiss gave daily briefings to General Mikhail Milshtein, a military adviser to Stalin and the deputy director of the GRU, revealing not only the American negotiating strategy but insights into the attitudes of the American negotiators. Milshtein's success enabled the GRU to retain Hiss as a source despite efforts by the KGB to muscle aside its junior competitor. Curiously, the Schecters never attempt to reconcile this information with Pavel Sudoplatov's denial that Hiss was an agent in 1945. Sudoplatov had admitted that Hiss had worked for Soviet intelligence in the 1930s. Why didn't he know about Hiss's role in 1945? Is the new information based on documents or the recollections of veteran Soviet agents? Is it firsthand—Milshtein's reminiscences—or "as told to"? We never learn.

The new information about Einstein is likewise interesting but hardly earth-shattering. The famed physicist's lover, Margarita Konenkova, wife of a prominent Russian sculptor, was clearly a KGB asset who reported on his friends. But her efforts did not have any discernible effect on Einstein's willingness to help the USSR. The Schecters admit that there is no evidence she learned anything significant about atomic weapons, and her one triumph, persuading Einstein to meet with the Soviet consul in New York, ended, they agree, with Einstein's refusal to follow the Soviet propaganda line.

The most startling new information deals with Robert Oppenheimer, the head of Los Alamos and the Manhattan Project. To security officials, Oppenheimer was a worrisome figure from the moment he was selected to direct the building of an atomic bomb. He had been a financial supporter of Communist causes in the 1930s and had social ties not only to party members but also to senior Communist operatives on the West Coast. Several members of his family—his brother, sister-in-law, and his wife—were Communists. His wife's first husband had been a Communist organizer killed fighting in the Spanish Civil War, and she was close to Steve Nelson, a party official with disturbingly close ties to Soviet intelligence. A number of Oppenheimer's graduate students and several of the people he hired to work on the Manhattan Project were known party members. In 1943 Oppenheimer had reluctantly told security officials a bizarre story about being approached to spy for the Russians. Even when the United States government withdrew his security clearance in 1954, however, it didn't claim that he was a Soviet agent, only that his behavior made him a security risk. FBI wiretaps declassified a few years ago revealed that Oppenheimer was himself a secret member of the Communist party.

In the book the Schecters wrote with Pavel Sudoplatov, the former Soviet spymaster claimed that Gregory Kheifitz, the KGB's resident in San Francisco, had met with Oppenheimer in December 1941, at which time the physicist had worried that the Nazis might build an atomic bomb before the Americans. Kheifitz allegedly introduced Elizabeth Zarubina, a KGB officer, to Oppenheimer's wife, through whom the Los Alamos director could stay in touch with the Russians; through this contact, Sudoplatov claimed, Oppenheimer facilitated Klaus Fuchs's arrival at Los Alamos. Sudoplatov also mentioned another point of entry Soviet intelligence used to get access to Oppenheimer: a Soviet mole, a Polish-born Jewish dentist, planted in California in the 1930s but long since out of touch and reactivated by Zarubina because of his close ties to Oppenheimer.

Several years ago, a book published in Russia revealed that it was another KGB operative living underground in the United States, Kitty Harris, who was actually sent to reactivate the Jewish dentist. In *Sacred Secrets* the Schecters use both stories, apparently

Stalin and Roosevelt in Tehran in 1943.

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Bettmann / CORBIS. All other pictures: Brassey's.

Truman greets Molotov at the White House in 1946.

not recognizing that they are contradictory. On page 51 they explain, "Kheifitz introduced [Zarubina] to the Oppenheimer family." On page 62 they note that the dentist and his wife "were friends of the Oppenheimers and introduced Elizabeth to them." The Schecters make no effort to reconcile these stories. Why would the Soviets have to work so hard to establish ties with Oppenheimer if Kheifitz had recruited him as a source in 1941? If the Russians were in contact with Kitty Oppenheimer, why would they have to search high and low to locate an old source, a dentist, with whom they had lost touch?

Obscured by their confusing account of the Oppenheimer story is a significant document the Schecters claim to have received from a confidential source. If not a smoking gun about the Oppenheimer case, it is at the least a very strong piece of evidence that Robert Oppenheimer betrayed secrets of the atomic bomb to Soviet intelligence. The Schecters reprint a 1944 memo from Vsevelod Merkulov to Lavrenty Beria. It notes that Soviet agents obtained important atomic information through Comintern contacts in the United States with Kheifitz and Zarubina. The memo goes on: "In 1942 one of the leaders of scientific work on uranium in the USA, Professor R. Oppenheimer, while being an unlisted member of the apparatus of Comrade Browder, informed us about the beginning of work. On the request of Comrade Kheifitz, confirmed by Comrade Browder, he provided cooperation in access to research for several of our tested sources including a relative of Comrade Browder."

While it would be better to have Kheifitz's original report of his contacts with Oppenheimer, this document is telling. It strongly supports the argument that Oppenheimer facilitated Soviet penetration of Los Alamos. He may well have known or suspected that espionage was taking place without having to dirty his own hands. And the memo suggests a tantalizing clue to another, heretofore-unknown source, that relative of Earl Browder (although one possibility is that it is a reference to Helen Lowry, Browder's niece, who was married to Iskhak Akhmerov, the KGB's chief underground officer in the United States).

While this document is most likely genuine, the frequent use of confidential sources and confidential documents is a serious problem the authors do not surmount. When using documents they somehow obtained from Russian intelligence files, the Schecters do not cite specific collections, much less identification numbers. They say that all the documents they obtained have been deposited in the Hoover Library and will be available to researchers in ten years. Even if the documents are currently unavailable, some indication of where they come from would have enhanced confidence in their authenticity.

The use of confidential sources is more of a problem. The Schecters note: "The names of confidential sources listed in the footnotes have been withheld at the request of the sources." Given the legal dangers to those who provided them with source material or classified information, the Schecters' reticence is understandable, but it nevertheless undercuts the arguments they make. Sudoplatov made a number of false assertions, including misidentifying the Soviet atomic source MLAD as Bruno Pontecorvo instead of Theodore Hall. Did he want to prevent identification of Hall, at that time still unknown in the West? Was his memory faulty? Similar questions can be asked of the Schecters' sources. Are their assertions based on memory? A review of documents? Stories told by retired KGB agents? What axes do they have to grind?

If there are problems with the Schecters' hidden sources, there is at least as significant a problem with one of their cited sources. Everyone who has written on Venona has argued that President Truman was never told of the project and so couldn't have known

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Elizabeth Bentley testifying to Congress in 1948.

that proof of Harry White's espionage was derived from it. Since he was suspicious of J. Edgar Hoover, Truman was never fully convinced that people like White and Hiss were agents. His long hesitation in tackling internal security, it has been argued, gave fuel to demagogues like Joe McCarthy. The Schecters, however, argue that Harry Truman was told at a June 1945 meeting "that U.S. Army code breakers were reading secret Soviet messages." Their source is former NSA analyst Oliver Kirby, who recalled Carter Clarke, head of Army Intelligence, telling him the story.

From Kirby's recollection many decades afterwards, the Schecters spin an intricate web to account for Truman's behavior. He still needed the USSR to help defeat Japan, they speculate, and hence was reluctant to weaken the wartime alliance "with embarrassing revelations; that the U.S. was intercepting and reading the internal messages of an ally, or that the Soviets had made the U.S. a prime target for their espionage activities." But, in June 1945, when Clarke allegedly told the president, the Army's cryptanalysts had not yet begun to read Soviet messages and had no inkling they concerned espionage.

By the Schecters' account, Truman's unerring political instincts "told him that knowing about Soviet espionage on American soil, especially with the cooperation of American agents, would be a huge liability for the Democrats in the coming year's congressional elections." But this assumes that Truman or American intelligence planned to make Venona public in 1945 or 1946, long before any significant Soviet traffic had been broken. Even if Truman knew about Venona in 1945, he would not have known anything about what it said of Soviet espionage, so that cannot explain Truman's actions.

Explaining Truman's decision to nominate White for the Board of the International Monetary Fund despite an FBI warning that he was a spy suspect, the Schecters suggest that withdrawing his name would have cost the Democrats votes in New York in the 1946 congressional elections. Apart from the fact that White was hardly a household name and had no political clout in New York—he was from Boston—the issue of Soviet espionage would only have become an issue if Truman had made Venona public. But there is no evidence that anyone in the intelligence community was prepared to go public in 1946. The only claims of Soviet espionage that the FBI was then pursuing involved Elizabeth Bentley, and there was no hard evidence to justify an indictment, much less a conviction of any of the Soviet spies Bentley named. Truman clearly did not take Soviet espionage seriously enough, but despite Kirby's claim, there is no indication that he knew about Venona and what it demonstrated about Soviet espionage.

Unfortunately, *Sacred Secrets* is marred by a number of errors and contradictory stories. Trivial as some are, they dilute one's confidence in the authors' command of their material. Thus, the FBI was not listening in on a call between KGB resident Vasily Zarubin and CPUSA organizer Steve Nelson but had bugged Nelson's apartment and overheard the two meeting together. (The incorrect story is told on one page and the correct one elsewhere. Moreover, Nelson was not running a Communist party espionage ring but a Comintern operation.) During World War II Arlington Hall cryptanalysts did not help "expose the hidden relationship between Soviet intelligence and American bureaucrats at the highest levels of the government" because they did not begin to break into the Soviet traffic until 1946. Moreover, it was not true that "in 1945 four major counterintelligence breakthroughs helped the FBI make sense of the fragments" of messages. The FBI was not brought into Venona until 1946 and did not begin formal cooperation until 1947. The Venona material corroborated Elizabeth Bentley's revelations, not the other way around. Whittaker Chambers could not have "described White's participation in the Silvermaster cell" because that ring did not exist when Chambers defected (it was the Ware cell). And Chambers was not a "converted Catholic" and hence a "hero to Irish Catholic longshoremen."

Scholarship on espionage can be frustrating because it often must rely on leaks and may not have access to full case files or complete documentation. Sometimes key sources cannot be identified because of legal or personal consequences. Some of the secret material in *Sacred Secrets* sounds plausible and appears to fit with what we already know about Soviet espionage. But, since no sources and no archives are identified, and there are so many small errors, even those of us disposed to believe many of the Schecters' claims will remain unsatisfied. ◆

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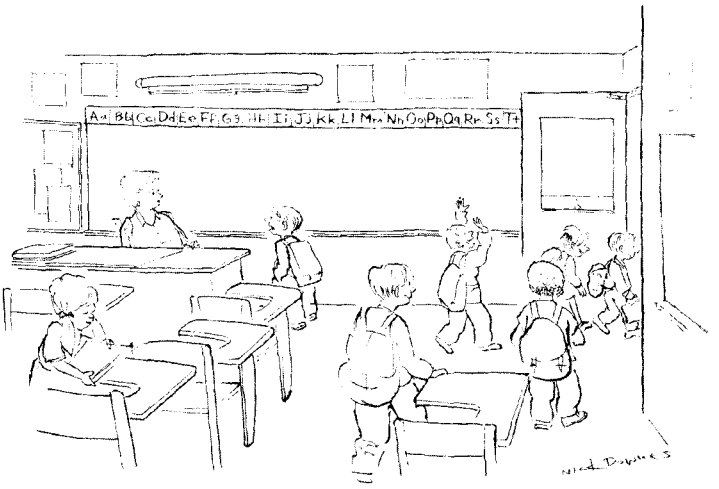

"Will I see you in September, or lose you to a summer love?"

Books in Brief

***American Son: A Portrait of John F. Kennedy Jr.* by Richard Blow (Henry Holt, 288 pp., $25).** Take the celebrity heir to a political fortune, trying both to embrace and to evade the family legacy, and you have *George*, the first political magazine produced wholly by and for people who do not like politics very much.

Add the reminiscences of the magazine's star-struck editor, and you have Richard Blow's *American Son*, an account of working with John F. Kennedy Jr. during the last four years of his truncated life, a tell-little book that tells more than Blow imagines about the blind spots and flaws of the slick-magazine culture and why it was that *George* finally had to fail.

Kennedy began with the best of intentions. His thought was, apparently, that people are less interested in politicians than film stars. So if he covered politicians as if they were film stars, people would want to read about them. "It would be a political magazine for people turned off by political magazines," Blow informs us. "The country's first mass-market political journal." To this end, editors were picked, not from political journals, but from magazines like *Mademoiselle* and *Mirabella*—picked, as it were, for their general ignorance, so that nothing the editors commissioned would ever be over anyone's head.

Almost at once, two things went wrong. The first was that too many political heavyweights did not lend themselves to movie-star treatments, which meant that *George* ended up running far too many silly features about young staffers. The second was that, while Kennedy hoped to inspire the public, the years 1995 to 1999 were short on inspiring causes and long on scandal and farce. Clinton's impeachment was great entertainment, but the son of one of our more libidinous presidents had no stomach for tweaking the thong-snappers, and *George* missed its opportunity.

Blow and Kennedy seemed to have thought they were breaking new ground in the publishing world, although, as a matter of fact, they were not. *George* was never a political magazine, but a celebrity magazine that focused on politics, and its best pieces—and it did run some good ones—were identical to those in *Vanity Fair*. *Vanity Fair*, however, placed its political pieces in a general mixture of style, business, and arts, into which such politics-as-style essays fit nicely. *George*'s effort to stretch the idea over the breadth of an entire magazine strained the connection between power and culture (which is what also did in *Capital Style*, a Washington-based *George*-like effort that likewise lived and died during the Clinton years).

George in the end was too much like John Kennedy himself: hedging its bets, refusing to commit, neither despising nor embracing but waffling in ambivalence about power. It was a magazine of half measures, and half measures just weren't enough.

—Noemie Emery

***A Good Fight* by Sarah Brady (PublicAffairs, 258 pp., $25).** It's rare that a memoir leaves as many unanswered questions as Sarah Brady's *A Good Fight*. Brady, America's most prominent anti-gun activist, gives ample details about her husband's medical care, her own battle with cancer, and even her experiences rearing a learning-disabled child. But when it comes to firearms, she's almost silent. Even her transformation from the shy wife of Ronald Reagan's press secretary to the leader of a powerful special-interest group is hardly discussed.

Despite all this, *A Good Fight* is an interesting read. Describing the treatment of her husband Jim's injuries (sustained in the course of John Hinckley's attempt on Ronald Reagan's life), Brady mixes deeply personal detail with genuinely inspiring stories about her family's efforts to stay together.

Along the way, she takes pot-shots at gun "extremists" (a word she uses at least 30 times) and insists, without evidence, that 95 percent of Americans support her agenda. She never addresses the possibility that some citizens might want guns for self-defense, although she does declare—after calling for every sort of gun-ownership restriction—that "law-abiding citizens should be able to buy and keep firearms." Perhaps she means it, but it's hard to believe.

—Eli Lehrer

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WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF COMMUNICATIONS

Summer Schedule for Middle East Events

NOTE: To help news organizations coordinate their vacation schedules, the White House Office of Communications has decided to release a schedule of July's forthcoming events in the Middle East.

June	President Bush lays down Bush Plan, identifying several demands the Palestinian Authority must meet as a pretext for a renewal of the peace process.
July 1	Colin Powell meets with Arafat to begin negotiating away the Bush demands.
July 2	Suicide bombers kill 23 in Jerusalem.
July 3	President Bush vows that he is giving Chairman Arafat one last chance.
July 6	Powell returns to region and announces that he is close to a compromise formula for a set of conditions that will pave the way for discussions of the Bush demands, which serve as a pretext for a return to the peace process.
July 9	Suicide bombers kill 13 in Tel Aviv.
July 14	President Bush announces that Arafat is now down to only three-quarters of a chance.
July 21	CIA director Tenet reaches agreement with Arafat on understandings about future talks on conditions that will lay the framework for demands that will serve as a pretext for a peace process. Hailed in world media as major breakthrough.
July 23	Suicide bombers kill 26 in Jerusalem.
July 24	Israeli troops break up terror ring in West Bank.
July 24	U.N. spokesman declares Israel guilty of genocide. EU announces anti-Israeli sanctions.
July 25	Arafat, protesting Israeli "invasion" and "genocide," announces withdrawal from Tenet codicil that serves as pathway to Powell Plan and Bush demands.
July 26	Suicide bombers kill 16 in Haifa.
July 27	Announcing that Arafat is now down to only three-eighths of a chance, Bush vows to issue over the next month new demands the Palestinian Authority must meet to restart the peace process.
July 29	Chairman Arafat welcomes Bush initiative. Says it is an important step toward peace. World cheers Arafat's spirit of cooperation.
July 30	Suicide bomber kills 34 in Netanya.

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A Twenty-first-Century Postal Service

Rick Geddes is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and a professor of policy analysis and management at Cornell University.

The price of a first-class stamp will rise from 34 to 37 cents on June 30, 2002, on top of increases in January 1999 and January 2001. Consumers will thus pay billions in added postage. Yet even with the additional revenue and the $675 million Congress approved to offset the cost of the terrorist attacks, the U.S. Postal Service will continue to lose money.

It does not have to work like this. Whereas our postal service remains a government-owned monopoly, other countries have addressed similar concerns through privatization and limitations on, or elimination of, their postal monopolies. Sweden, Finland, New Zealand, and, most recently, the United Kingdom abolished their postal monopolies. Since 1997 all fifteen European Union countries have observed limits on their postal monopolies. Other countries, such as Norway and Australia, have limited their monopolies as well.

Large-scale postal privatization has also occurred. Shares in Germany's Deutsche Post were sold in that country's largest public offering of 2000. A majority of PTT Post, the postal service in the Netherlands, is now privately owned.

International reforms have had positive effects. The basic stamp price in Australia has remained constant, at 40 Australian cents, for ten years. New Zealand *lowered* its basic stamp price from 45 to 40 cents in 1995, and it has remained there ever since. **In contrast to the U.S. Postal Service, reformed postal services have been consistently profitable while paying standard business taxes.** Most reformed postal services have been able to downsize without mass layoffs, instead relying on attrition. Moreover, demonopolized postal services have not sacrificed delivery to rural areas. Universal service is an important business asset, and firms facing competition have an incentive to maintain it.

Postal reform can enhance the welfare of employees as well as consumers. Employees can be offered shares in the new enterprise at a discount, encouraging employee stock ownership. Employees at all levels would then have a personal stake in the firm, improving its performance.

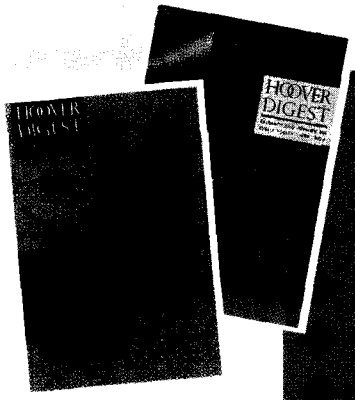
Issuing tradable ownership shares would give the postal service the incentive to maximize profits, creating a variety of social benefits. One of the postal service's problems is its lack of a clear purpose. Instead of pursuing a vague notion of "the public interest," the postal service would be accountable to a well-defined group: its owners.

Under private ownership the postal service would have incentives to reduce costs and become consumer-oriented through improved marketing techniques, adoption of more efficient technologies, improved operations, more effective corporate governance, heightened service quality, and the introduction of more new products. Managerial pay could be tied to reliable measures of firm performance, giving managers the incentive to become more entrepreneurial.

The U.S. Postal Service has been a government-owned monopoly for more than two hundred years, and awkward ways of doing business are entrenched. Vigorous postal reform would create social benefits large enough so that all groups—customers, employees, and taxpayers—would gain. It would follow successful examples in numerous other countries and create a dynamic structure for the postal service that is appropriate for the twenty-first century.

— *Rick Geddes*

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



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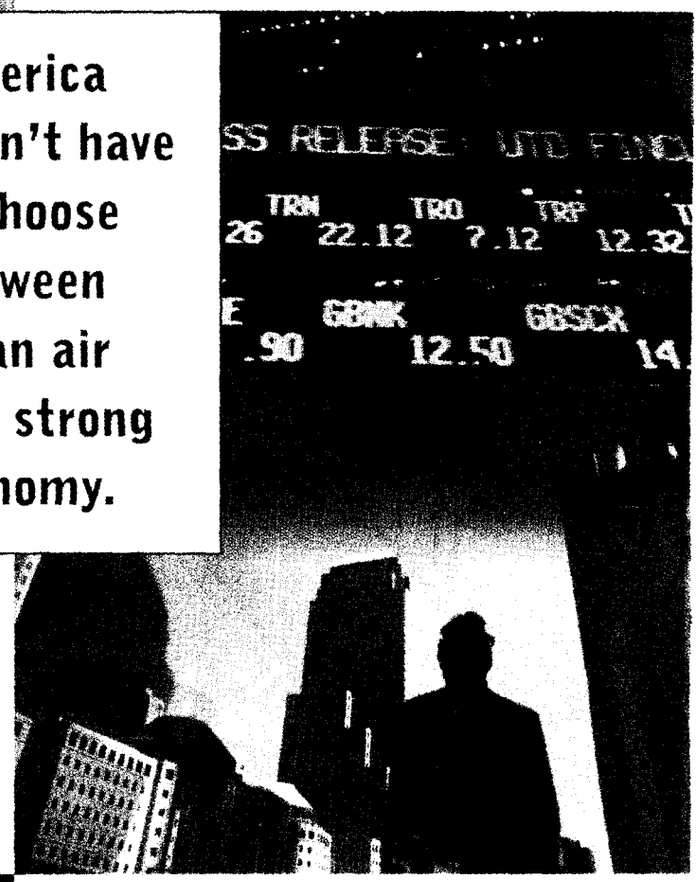

America shouldn't have to choose between clean air and a strong economy.

We should choose both.

We all agree that cleaner air is good for America, and that's why power companies that generate electricity from coal have worked hard to cut emissions. Even as the use of electricity from coal has tripled in the last 30 years, the rate of emissions has dropped by more than half. And new technologies promise to be even cleaner in the future. With electricity from coal, America has a reliable, affordable, domestic energy source that will power our economy and our lives for the next 250 years.

But the "Clean Power Act" (S. 556) will impose excessive emissions cuts that will drive up electricity prices and threaten the reliability of our electric system. This legislation could cost over $140 billion, adding more than 30 percent to consumer prices and cutting use of America's affordable and reliable energy source—electricity from coal—by at least 40 percent. Instead of helping America, this legislation will put the squeeze on Americans at home and at work.

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